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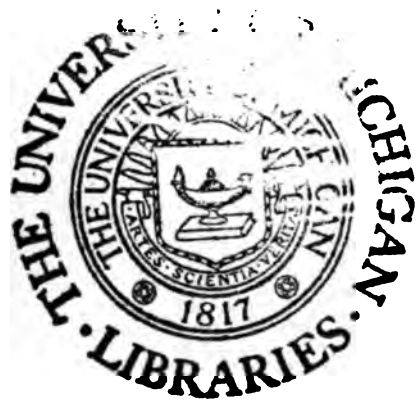
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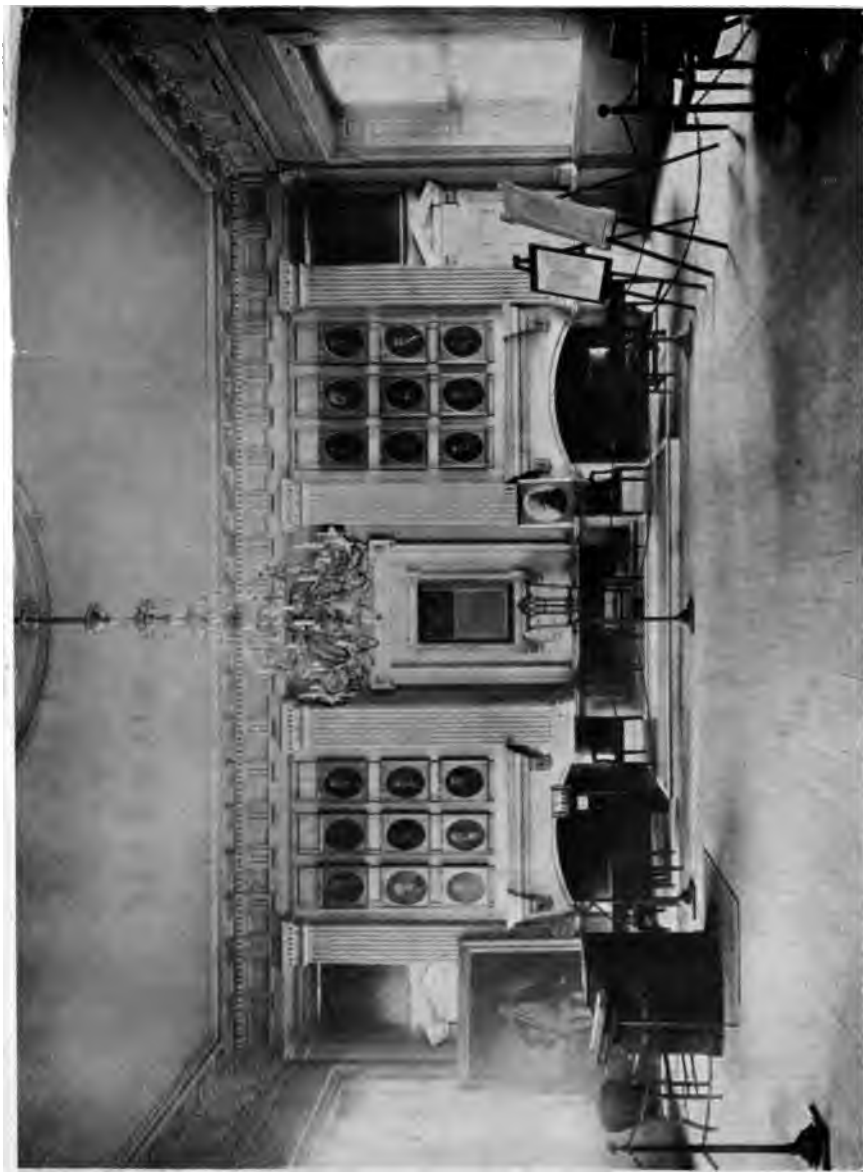
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The room in " Independence Hall " in which Congress sat when the proceedings respecting a Declaration of Independence took place and when the Declaration on parchment was signed (except perhaps by Thomas M.Kean). (The photograph was taken in July, 1905.)

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE —ITS HISTORY—

I have sometimes asked myself whether my country is better for my having lived at all? I do not know that it is. I have been the instrument of doing the following things; but they would have been done by others; some of them perhaps a little better.

....
The declaration of independence

Jefferson's *Autobiography*(S)

BY
JOHN H. HAZELTON



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Preface

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THIS work is offered to the American people not only in the hope that it may be welcomed as a readable and reliable history of the Declaration of Independence but in the hope that it may in some degree tend to keep alive in their hearts the love of Liberty that possessed the Fathers.

Benjamin Rush writes, to Rev. Mr. Gordon, at Roxbury, Mass., December 10, 1778: "[Rid] Put us not off with Great Britain's acknowledging our independence Alas! the great Ultimatum of our modern patriots. It is liberty alone that can make us happy. And without it the memorable 4th of July 1776 will be execrated by posterity as the day in which pandora's box was opened in this country. I am impatient to see your history."

That there are numerous quotations between its covers is due to a belief of the author that the subject called less for his own views than for facts, and also to a belief that the very words afforded the most pleasing presentation.

From some of those whose names have come down to us, numerous quotations have been made; from others, none at all. In this, there has been no intent to slight any particular person or Colony. Many of the patriots were

v

PREFACE

engaged in other fields, equally important to the cause, and had nothing to do directly with the Declaration. Many others, we believe, never put their thoughts or described their deeds on paper. Still more perhaps were unfortunate (or fortunate) enough to have their writings either destroyed or lost. Indeed, John Adams writes to William Tudor, June 5, 1817: "The letters he [Samuel Adams] wrote and received, where are they? I have seen him, at Mrs. Yard's in Philadelphia, when he was about to leave Congress, cut up with his scissors whole bundles of letters into atoms that could never be reunited, and throw them out of the window, to be scattered by the winds. This was in summer, when he had no fire . . ."

As to the accuracy of the history, it can be said that, without regard to the labor involved, original sources, wherever practicable, have been examined personally.

The author gratefully acknowledges courtesies extended to him by Charles Francis Adams, by James G. Barnwell and Bunford Samuel, of The Library Company of Philadelphia, by Edmund M. Barton, of the American Antiquarian Society, by John D. Crimmins and W. M. Reynolds, by Wilberforce Eames and Victor H. Paltsits, of the New York Public Library (Lenox), by Worthington Chauncey Ford, of the Library of Congress, by Simon Gratz, by Dr. Samuel A. Green, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, by S. M. Hamilton, formerly of the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Department of State, by Dr. I. Minis Hays, of The American Philosophical Society, by John W. Jordan, of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, by Robert H. Kelby, of the New York Historical Society, by Otto Kelsey, Comptroller of the

P R E F A C E

State of New York, by J. Pierpont Morgan and Junius S. Morgan, by John Boyd Thacher, by George C. Thomas and A. Howard Ritter and by Arnold J. F. van Laer, of the New York State Library, in the examination of original manuscripts; by Worthington Chauncey Ford, in the securing of photographs of manuscripts, etc.; by Z. T. Hollingsworth; by Joseph F. Sabin; and by others mentioned.

J. H. H.

NEW YORK, 1905.

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**The Declaration of Independence:
Its History**

The Declaration of Independence: Its History

I

SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FOUR

SEVENTEEN hundred and seventy-four saw the people at large for the first time recognize that the cause of Boston was a *common cause*.

Accordingly, it was determined to hold a meeting of Delegates from the various Colonies; and Philadelphia was chosen as the place and the 5th of September as the day of meeting.

When the time approached, "Washington", says¹ Irving, "was joined at Mount Vernon by Patrick Henry and Edmund Pendleton, and they performed the journey together on horseback. It was a noble companionship. Henry was then in the youthful vigor and elasticity of his bounding genius; ardent, acute, fanciful, eloquent. Pendleton, schooled in public life, a veteran in council, with native force of intellect, and habits of deep reflection. Washington, in the meridian of his days, mature in wisdom, comprehensive in mind, sagacious in foresight."

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We have even a more interesting account of the journey of the Delegates of Massachusetts.

She had selected James Bowdoin, Samuel and John Adams, Thomas Cushing and Robert Treat Paine. Bowdoin having declined the appointment, the others set out from Boston, from Cushing's house, in one coach, August 10th.

On the 15th, they were in Hartford, whither Silas Deane came to meet them ; and, from him, they received an account of the New York Delegates, with whom they were unacquainted. On the 16th, about dusk, they arrived in New Haven ; and "all the bells in town were set to ringing". There, the next day, at the tavern (Isaac Bears'), Roger Sherman called upon them, and expressed the opinion "that the Parliament of Great Britain had authority to make laws for America in no case whatever."

On the 20th, they "Lodged at Cock's, at Kingsbridge"; then breakfasted at Day's ; and arrived in New York "at ten o'clock, at Hull's, a tavern, the sign the Bunch of Grapes ", whence they "went to private lodgings at Mr. Tobias Stoutenberg's, in King Street, very near the City Hall one way, and the French Church the other." John Adams writes in his *Diary* : "The streets of this town are vastly more regular and elegant than those in Boston, and the houses are more grand, as well as neat. They are almost all painted, brick buildings and all."

At 9 o'clock on the 26th, they "crossed Paulus Hook Ferry to New Jersey, then Hackinsack Ferry, then Newark Ferry, and dined at Elizabethtown"; and thence

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on to Brunswick. About noon on the 27th, they came to the tavern in Princeton, "which holds out the sign of Hudibras, near Nassau Hall College. The tavern keeper's name is Hire." Here they spent Sunday also, when they heard Dr. John Witherspoon preach, and, from Jonathan D. Sergeant, learned of the Delegates from Pennsylvania and Virginia, with whom also they were unacquainted, and still more of the Delegates from New York.

Having breakfasted, on Monday, at Trenton, they crossed the Delaware and passed through Bristol to Frankford², five miles from Philadelphia, where a number of gentlemen came from that city to meet them — among them, Thomas M:Kean, Thomas Mifflin, John Sullivan, Nathaniel Folsom and (?) Rutledge. They "then rode into town, and dirty, dusty, and fatigued as we were," writes John Adams in his *Diary*, "we could not resist the importunity to go to the tavern, the most genteel one in America", where they met Thomas Lynch. Adams, on taking a walk around the city the next day, was much impressed with its "regularity and elegance", in comparison with the "cowpaths" of Boston. On the last day of August, he and his associates moved their "lodgings to the house of Miss Jane Port, in Arch Street, about half way between Front Street and Second Street".

On September 1st, in the evening, the Massachusetts Delegates, together with the Delegates from the other Colonies who had arrived in Philadelphia, 25 in number, met at Smith's, the new City Tavern. The Adamses, Cushing and Paine were introduced, the next day, to Peyton Randolph, Benjamin Harrison and Richard

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Henry Lee. On the 3d, they met Matthew Tilghman (perhaps) and Cæsar Rodney.

Two days later (Monday, the 5th of September, the day which had been set for the meeting), "At ten", writes John Adams in his *Diary*, "the delegates³ all met at the City Tavern, and walked to the Carpenters' Hall, where they took a view of the room, and of the chamber where is an excellent library; there is also a long entry where gentlemen may walk, and a convenient chamber opposite to the library. The general cry was, that this was a good room . . ."

Thus began what has since become known as the First Continental Congress.

The Journal shows us that, on this day, Cushing, Samuel⁴⁵ and John⁴⁶ Adams and Paine⁴⁷ of Massachusetts, Sullivan and Folsom of New Hampshire, Stephen Hopkins⁴ and Samuel Ward of Rhode Island, Eliphalet Dyer, Deane and Sherman⁴⁸ of Connecticut, James Duane⁹, John Jay¹⁰, Philip Livingston⁴¹¹, Isaac Low and William Floyd⁴¹² of New York, James Kinsey, William Livingston¹³, John De Hart, Steven Crane and Richard Smith of New Jersey, Joseph Galloway, Samuel Rhoads, Mifflin, Charles Humphreys, John Morton⁴ and Edward Biddle of Pennsylvania, Rodney⁴¹⁴, M:Kean⁴ and George Read⁴ of Delaware, Robert Goldsborough, William Paca⁴¹⁵ and Samuel Chase⁴¹⁶ of Maryland, Randolph, Washington, Henry, Richard Bland, Harrison⁴¹⁷ and Pendleton of Virginia and Henry Middleton, John and Edward⁴¹⁸ Rutledge, Christopher Gadsden and Thomas Lynch¹⁹ of South Carolina were present. R. H. Lee^{420 21} of Virginia and Thomas John-

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son, Jr., of Maryland took their seats on the next day. Tilghman of Maryland did not attend until the 12th; William Hooper⁴ and Joseph Hewes⁴ of North Carolina, Henry Wisner²² and John Alsop²³ of New York and George Ross⁴ of Pennsylvania until the 14th; Richard Caswell of North Carolina until the 17th; John Herring of New York until the 26th; Simon Boerum of New York until October 1st; and John Dickinson²⁴ of Pennsylvania until October 17th.

Randolph²⁵ was unanimously chosen President; and Charles Thomson of Pennsylvania became²⁶ Secretary.

This Congress agreed not to import, after the 1st of December, any goods, wares or merchandise from Great Britain or Ireland, or any East India tea, or any molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee or pimento from the British plantations or Dominica, or any wines from Madeira or the Western Islands or any foreign indigo; and the Delegates embodied in the agreement a non-consumptive clause, binding themselves, as an effectual security for the observation of the non-importation. *It was the beginning of the American Union.*

✓ Toward declaring *independence*, however, the First Continental Congress took no action whatever; nor does such a measure seem to have been considered even as a possibility.

Indeed, the association spoken of, of October 20th, itself avowed allegiance to his Majesty; and the address of this Congress to the King stated that the Colonists yielded to no other British subjects in affectionate attachment to his Majesty's person, family and government.

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Nor was there any real thought of independence among the people at large; though Hooper writes, to James Iredell, April 26th: "[I] They [the Colonies] are striding fast to independence, and ere long will build an empire upon the ruin of Great Britain; will adopt its constitution purged of its impurities, and from an experience of its defects will guard against those evils which have wasted its vigor and brought it to an untimely end . . . I know too well your reverence for our Constitution not to forgive it in another, although it borders upon enthusiasm."

On May 31st, John Scollay writes — from Boston! — to Arthur Lee: "We have too great a regard for our parent State (although cruelly treated by some of her illegitimate sons) to withdraw our connection." The General Assembly of New Jersey declared, July 21st, that their people and, indeed, the whole country "detest all thoughts of an independence . . ." Even Washington, in a letter to Captain Mackenzie, written in October, says: "[H] Give me leave to add, and I think I can announce it as a fact, that it is not the wish or interest of that government [Massachusetts], or any other upon this continent, separately or collectively, to set up for independence."

These views are borne out by a letter dated April 12, 1776, from "A. B." to Alexander Pardie: "It may, with certainty, be affirmed, that, among the ends which the Colonies (from South-Carolina to New York, inclusively) had in view when they began the present contest, independence held no place; and that the New-England Governments, if they had it in view at all, considered it as a remote and contingent object."

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Most of the few who desired a separation lived in or about Boston. "A view to independence grows more and more general" appears in a letter from Dr. Benjamin Church intercepted by Washington at Cambridge in October.

There, Samuel Adams was a central figure.

On April 4th, he writes to Arthur Lee: "[W] . . . if the British administration and government do not return to the principles of moderation and equity, the evil which they profess to aim at preventing by their rigorous measures, will the sooner be brought to pass, viz.—*the entire separation and independence of the Colonies* . . . It requires but a small portion of the gift of discernment for anyone to foresee that Providence will erect a mighty empire in America . . ."

Of the opinions of *John* Adams during this year respecting independence, we have found no contemporaneous record; but a letter to Timothy Pickering, describing the trip to Philadelphia, written many years later (August 6, 1822) says: "[Ms] I can write nothing which will not be suspected of personal vanity, local prejudice or Provincial & State partiality . . . As M^r. Hancock was sick and confined M^r Bowdoin was chosen at the head of the Massachusetts delegation to Congress. His relations thought his great fortune ought not to be hazarded. Cushing, two Adams's and Paine . . . were met at Frankfort by D^r Rush, M^r Mifflin, M^r Bayard and several others of the most active Sons of Liberty, in Philadelphia, who desired a conference with us. We invited them to take Tea with us in a private apartment. They asked leave to give us some information and advice, which we

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thankfully granted. They represented to us, that the friends of Government in Boston and in the Eastern States, in their correspondence with their friends in Pennsylvania and all the Southern States, had represented us as four desperate adventurers. M^r Cushing was a harmless kind of man ; but poor, and wholly dependent upon his popularity for his subsistence. M^r Samuel Adams was a very artful designing man, but desperately poor and wholly dependent on his popularity with the lowest vulgar for his living. John Adams and M^r Paine were two young Lawyers of no great talents reputation or weight, who had no other means of raising themselves into consequence but by courting popularity. We were all suspected of having Independence in view. Now, said they, you must not utter the word Independence, nor give the least hint or insinuation of the idea, neither in Congress or any private conversation ; if you do — you are undone ; for the idea of Independence is as unpopular in Pennsylvania and in all the middle and Southern States as the Stamp Act itself. No Man dares to speak of it. Moreover, you are the Representatives of the suffering State . . . you are thought to be too warm, too zealous, too sanguine, you must be therefore very cautious. You must not come forward with any bold measures : you must not pretend to take the lead. You know Virginia is the most populous State in the Union. They are very proud of their antient Dominion, as they call it ; they think they have a right to take the lead, and the Southern States and the middle States too, are too much disposed to yield it to them. This . . . made a deep impression on my mind and it had an equal

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effect on all my Colleagues. This conversation and the principles, facts and motives suggested in it, have given a colour, complection and character to the whole policy of the United States, from that day to this. Without it . . . M^r. Jefferson [would never] have been the Author of the declaration of Independence, nor M^r. Richard Henry Lee the mover of it . . . Although this advice dwelt deeply on my mind, I had not in my nature prudence and caution enough always to observe it . . . It soon became rumoured about the City that John Adams was for Independence; the Quakers and Proprietary gentlemen, took the alarm; represented me as the worst of men; the true-blue-sons of Liberty pitied me; all put me under a kind of Coventry. I was avoided like a man infected with the Leprosy. I walked the Streets of Philadelphia in solitude, borne down by the weight of care and unpopularity. But every ship for the ensuing year, brought us fresh proof of the truth of my prophesies, and one after another became convinced of the necessity of Independence."

Of Virginians, very many think that Henry contributed more than any other man to light the fires of the Revolution; and Wirt goes²⁷ much farther — claiming for him the credit of being the first of all the leading men of the Colonies to suggest independence. In the account of this patriot's burst of eloquence, in 1773, he tells us that one of the audience reported that "the company appeared to be startled; for they had never heard anything of the kind even suggested." Henry, in speaking of Great Britain, (his biographer continues) said: "I doubt whether we *shall* be able, *alone*, to cope with so powerful

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a nation. But where is France? Where is Spain? Where is Holland? the natural enemies of Great Britain — Where will they be all this time? . . . Will Louis the XVI. be asleep all this time? Believe me, *no!* When Louis the XVI. shall be satisfied by our serious opposition, and our *Declaration of Independence*, that all prospect of reconciliation is gone, then, and not till then, will he furnish us with arms, ammunition, and clothing; and not with these only, but he will send his fleets and armies to fight our battles for us; he will form with us a treaty offensive and defensive, against our unnatural mother. Spain and Holland will join the confederation! Our independence will be established! and we shall take our stand among the nations of the earth."

Even Wirt's claim, however, is outdone by Dr. Joseph Johnson. He says²⁸: "We claim for Christopher Gadsden that he first spoke of Independence in 1764, to his friends under Liberty Tree, and there renewed the subject in 1766, rather than submit to the unconstitutional taxes of Great Britain."

II

SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIVE

SEVENTEEN hundred and seventy-five is the year of Paul Revere's ride—the year of Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill.

War had become a reality.

Strangely enough, however, the majority of the people still desired reconciliation¹—the love of Liberty of the Anglo-Saxon, as a race, not yet having overcome in them the cradle-nurtured spirit of the subject; and, of the comparatively few who favored independence, many feared and others seemed ashamed openly to express their opinions.

Only six days before the end of the year, Portsmouth, N. H., instructed² her Representatives to the Provincial Congress³: "We are of opinion that the present times are too unsettled to admit of perfecting a firm, stable and permanent government [for New Hampshire]; and that to attempt it now would injure us, by furnishing our enemies in Great Britain with arguments to persuade the good people there that we are aiming at independency, which we totally disavow . . . We particularly recommend, that you strictly guard against every measure that may have a tendency to cause disunion . . ."

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Even in Boston, — when delivering too the oration to commemorate the tragedy of March 5, 1770! — Dr. Joseph Warren expressed himself thus: “An independence on Great Britain is not our aim. No, our wish is that Britain and the Colonies may, like the oak and ivy, grow and increase in strength together . . .” Indeed, *after the battle of Lexington*, the same orator said: “This [reconciliation] I most heartily wish, as I feel a warm affection for the parent state . . .”

William Gordon writes from Jamaica Plain, July 30th, to Mrs. Elizabeth Smith at Weathersfield: “[N] I still retain with you an affection for our native country, & wish to have matters accommodated, if it is the will of heaven, without a total separation.”

The Provincial Congress itself of Massachusetts, in its address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, declared, April 26th: “We profess to be his loyal and dutiful subjects; and so hardly dealt with as we have been, are still ready, with our lives and fortunes, to defend his person, family, crown, and dignity.”

“Brother Jonathan” (Trumbull) writes, to the Earl of Dartmouth, in March: “We consider the interests of the two countries as inseparable, and are shocked at the idea of any disunion between them . . . The good people of this Colony [Connecticut], my Lord, are unfeignedly loyal, and firmly attached to his Majesty’s person, family, and government.”

As for New York, under no circumstances could she yet tolerate the idea of independence. On June 26th, the Provincial Congress approved of an address, to be delivered to Washington, who was on his way to take

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command of the army, in which they spoke of "(that fondest wish of each American soul) an accommodation with our Mother Country"; the Committee of "Manhattan", on August 4th, finding that a Mr. Archer ("lately" of Philadelphia) had propagated a report there that Congress had resolved "that unless American grievances were redressed by the first of March, these Colonies should be independent of Great Britain . . . Resolved, That the author of such report is guilty of a malicious attempt to represent the Continental Congress as intending to cast off the connexion and dependence of the Colonies on Great Britain, and thereby to widen the unhappy breach already subsisting between them"; and the Provincial Congress again, four months later, declared "That the supposed present 'turbulent state' of this Colony arises not . . . from a desire to become independent . . ."

The Assembly of Delaware instructed her Delegates, March 29th: "That in every act to be done in Congress, you studiously avoid, as you have heretofore done, everything disrespectful or offensive to our most gracious Sovereign, or in any way invasive of his just rights and prerogative."

"Camillus", in a Pennsylvania newspaper, thus concisely compares the rights of the Colonists with those of the citizens of the mother country:

⁴ IN ENGLAND	IN AMERICA
1. A tryal by a jury of his country, in all cases of life and property.	1. A tryal by jury only in some cases, subjected in others to a single Judge, or a Board of Commissioners.
2. A tryal where the offence was committed.	2. A tryal, if a Governor pleases, 3000 miles from the place where the offence was committed.

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| <p>3. A civil authority supreme over the military, and no standing army in time of peace kept up, but by the consent of the people.</p> <p>4. The Judges independent of the Crown and people.</p> <p>5. No tax or imposition laid, but by those who must partake of the burthen.</p> <p>6. A free trade to all the world, except the East-Indies.</p> <p>7. A free use and practice of all engines and other devices, for saving labour and promoting manufactures.</p> <p>8. A right to petition the King, and all prosecutions and commitments therefor illegal.</p> <p>9. Freedom of debate and proceedings in their legislative deliberations.</p> <p>10. For redress of grievances, amending, strengthening and preserving the laws, parliaments to be held frequently.</p> | <p>3. The military superior to the civil authority, and America obliged to contribute to the support of a standing army, kept up without and against its consent.</p> <p>4. The Judges made independent of the people, but dependent on the Crown for the support and tenure of their commissions.</p> <p>5. Taxes and impositions laid by those, who not only do not partake of the burthens, but who ease themselves by it.</p> <p>6. A trade only to such places as Great-Britain shall permit.</p> <p>7. The use only of such engines as Great-Britain has not prohibited.</p> <p>8. Promoting and encouraging petitions to the King declared the highest presumption, and the legislative Assemblies of America dissolved therefor in 1768.</p> <p>9. Assemblies dissolved, their legislative power suspended, for the free exercise of their reason and judgment, in their legislative capacity.</p> <p>10. To prevent the redress of grievances, or representations tending thereto, Assemblies postponed for a great length of time, and prevented meeting in the most critical times.</p> |
|--|--|

It is very significant of the spirit of the times that the same writer should declare: “⁴When I hear America charged with aspiring after independance, I ask, Were we independant on Great-Britain in 1762? That is the æra to which we all look back with regret, and to which we are anxiously seeking to return.” “⁵That the Americans have entire independance on the Mother Country in view, as the great object of their present contest . . . [is] false and groundless . . .”

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Even Franklin — in a letter to Lord Howe, dated July 20, 1776 — declares that “[X] tears of joy . . . wet my cheek, when, at your good sister’s in London, you once gave me expectations that a reconciliation might soon take place.” Indeed, in a letter to his son, written at sea, March 22d (1775), — speaking of a visit he had paid to Lord Chatham in London — he writes : “ I assured him that, having more than once travelled almost from one end of the Continent to the other, and kept a great variety of company, eating, drinking, and conversing with them freely, I never had heard in any conversation from any person, drunk or sober, the least expression of a wish for a separation, or a hint that such a thing would be advantageous to America . . . he expressed much satisfaction . . . in the assurances I had given him that America did not aim at independence.”⁶

The Assembly of Pennsylvania instructed her Delegates, November 9th : “ We strictly enjoin you, that you, in behalf of this Colony, dissent from, and utterly reject, any propositions, should such be made, that may cause or lead to a separation from our Mother Country . . . ”

Similar views prevailed in Maryland.

On August 2d, one of her clergymen writes to England : “ The King has not more affectionate or loyal subjects in any part of his dominions than the Americans. They desire no other King ; they wish not a division from, or independence on the Mother Country.”

The instructions of December to her Delegates in Congress contained the expressions “ our strong desire of reconciliation ” and “ disavowing in the most solemn manner, all design in these Colonies of independence ”.

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Charles Carroll of Carrollton writes, from Annapolis to Washington (?), September 26th: "[N] If a treaty is but once set on foot, I think, it must terminate in a lasting & happy peace; an event, I am persuaded, you most earnestly desire, as every good citizen must, in which number you rank foremost . . . If we can not obtain a peace on safe & just terms, my next wish is, that you may extort by force from our enemies what their policy, & justice should have granted, and that you may long live to enjoy the fame of the best, the noblest deed, the defending & securing the liberties of your country."

An idea of the feeling in Virginia in the early part of the year is given us by Wirt. He says that, when (March 23d) Henry offered, in the old church in Richmond, the resolutions that the Colony be put immediately into a state of defence, "some of the warmest patriots of the convention opposed them. Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton . . . resisted them with all their influence and abilities." He adds that it was by Henry's eloquence only that the resolutions were carried.

We know that, later in the year, Thomas Anderson was "charged with saying . . . that this Country . . . aimed at a state of independence," and was acquitted (September 5th) by the Committee of Hanover County "from further prosecution" only upon signing a concession.

The position of Jefferson is outlined in his own letters.⁷ He writes from Monticello, August 25th, to John Randolph: "[K] I am sincerely one of those [wishing reunion], and would rather be in dependence on Great

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Britain, properly limited, than on any nation upon earth, or than on no nation. But I am one of those, too, who, rather than submit to the rights of legislating for us, assumed by the British Parliament . . . would lend my hand to sink the whole island in the ocean." To the same gentleman, November 29th, he says: "[K] . . . there is not in the British empire a man who more cordially loves a union with Great Britain, than I do. But, by the God that made me, I will cease to exist before I yield to a connection on such terms as the British Parliament propose; and in this I think I speak the sentiments of America. *We want neither inducement nor power, to declare and assert a separation. It is will, alone, which is wanting, and that is growing apace under the fostering hand of our King.*"

So is also the position of General Charles Lee. On the 1st day of the last month of the year, he writes, to General Burgoyne: "You ask me, in your letter, if it is independence at which the Americans aim? I answer no; the idea never entered a single American's head until a most intolerable oppression forced it⁸ upon them . . . On the contrary, do they not all breathe the strongest attachment and filial piety for their parent country? . . . I swear by all that's sacred . . . that I most earnestly and devoutly love my native country; that I wish the same happy relation to subsist for ages, betwixt her and her children, which has raised the wide arch of her empire to so stupendous and enviable a height; but at the same time I avow, that if the Parliament and people should be depraved enough to support any longer the present Ministry in their infernal scheme . . . I would advise

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not to hesitate a single instant, but decisively to cut the Gordian knot now besmeared with civil blood"; and, three days later, speaking of this letter, he says, from "[BT] Camp on Prospect Hill", to Dr. Benjamin Rush, that it "in my opinion is the best of my performances. I believe it does not tally with your political creed in some parts—but I am convinced that you have not virtue enough for independence nor do I think it calculated for your happiness; besides I have some remaining prejudices as an Englishman—but you will judge from the perusal of my letter whether they are honest and liberal—if they shock you be gentle in your censures."

North Carolina, at least in one County, was more advanced—though to just what extent has been much mooted.

In the *Essex Register* (C)—published in Salem, Mass.—of June 5, 1819, appeared the following:

From the Raleigh Register.*

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

It is not probably known to many of our readers, that the citizens of Mecklenburg county, in this state, made a declaration of independence more than a year before Congress made theirs. The following document on the subject has lately come in the hands of the editor¹⁰ from unquestionable authority, and is published that it may go down to posterity:

11 N. CAROLINA, MECKLENBURG COUNTY, }
May 20, 1775.

In the spring of 1775, the leading characters of Mecklenburg county . . . held several detached meetings, in each of which the individual sentiments were, "that the cause of Boston was the cause of all . . ." Conformably to these principles, Col.

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Adam Alexander, through solicitation, issued an order to each Captain's Company in the county of Mecklenburg . . . directing each militia company to elect two persons . . . to adopt measures . . . to secure, unimpaired, their inalienable rights, privileges and liberties . . .

. . . on the 19th of May, 1775, the said delegation met in Charlotte, vested with unlimited powers; at which time official news, by express, arrived of the battle of Lexington on that day of the preceding month . . . Abraham Alexander was then elected Chairman, and John M'Knitt Alexander, Clerk. After a free and full discussion of the various objects for which the delegation had been convened, it was unanimously Ordained —

1. *Resolved*, That whosoever directly or indirectly abetted, or in any way, form, or manner, countenanced, the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights, as claimed by Great Britain, is an enemy to this country, — to America, — and to the inherent and inalienable rights of man.

2. *Resolved*, That we, the citizens of Mecklenburg county, do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us to the Mother Country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British Crown, and abjure all political connection, contract, or association with that Nation, who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties — and inhumanly shed the innocent blood of American patriots at Lexington.

3. *Resolved*, That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people; are, and of right ought to be, a sovereign & self governing association, under the control of no power other than that of our God and the General Government of the Congress; to the maintenance of which independence, we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual co-operation, our lives, our fortunes, & our most sacred honor.

4. *Resolved*, That as we now acknowledge the existence and control of no law or legal officer, civil or military, within this

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county, we do hereby ordain and adopt, as a rule of life, all, each, and every of our former laws — wherein, nevertheless, the crown of Great Britain never can be considered as holding rights, privileges, immunities, or authority therein.

5 . . .¹²

. . . After sitting in the court house all night, neither sleepy, hungry, or fatigued, and after discussing every paragraph, they were all passed, sanctioned, and decreed, unanimously, about two o'clock, A. M. May 20. In a few days, a deputation of said delegation convened, when capt. James Jack, of Charlotte, was deputed as express to the Congress at Philadelphia, with a copy of said resolves and proceedings, together with a letter addressed to our three representatives, viz. Richard Caswell, William Hooper, and Joseph Hughes, under express injunction, personally, and through the state representation, to use all possible means to have said proceedings sanctioned and approved by the general Congress. On the return of captain Jack, the delegation learned that their proceedings were individually approved by the members of Congress, but that it was deemed premature to lay them before the house. A joint letter from said three members of Congress was also received, complimentary of the zeal in the common cause, and recommending perseverance, order, and energy . . .

[¹³The foregoing is a true copy of the papers on the above subject, left in my hands by John Matthew¹⁴ Alexander, deceased. I find it mentioned on file that the original book was burned in April, 1800; that a copy¹⁵ of the proceedings was sent to Hugh Williamson, in New-York, then writing a history of North Carolina, and that a copy was¹⁶ sent to general W. R. Davies¹⁷.

J. M'KNITT¹⁸.]

John Adams, then at Quincy, immediately (June 22d) wrote to Jefferson: "[S] May I inclose you one of the

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greatest curiosities and one of the deepest mysteries that ever occurred to me . . . it is entitled the Raleigh Register Declaration of Independence — How is it possible that this paper should have been concealed from me to this day — had it been communicated to me in the time of it — I know, if you do not know, that it would have been printed in every Whig Newspaper upon this Continent — you know if I had possessed it — I would have made the Hall of Congress Echo — and re-echo, with it fifteen months before your Declaration of Independence — What a poor ignorant, malicious, short-sighted, crapulous mass, is Tom Pains Common Sense¹⁹; in comparison with this paper — had I known it I would have commented upon it — from the day you entered Congress till the fourth of July 1776. — The genuine sense of America at that moment was never so well expressed before nor since. — Richard Caswell, William Hooper, and Joseph Hughes the then Representatives of North Carolina in Congress you know as well as I do — and you know that the Unanimity of the States finally depended upon the Vote of Joseph Hughes — and was finally determined by him — and yet History is to ascribe the American Revolution to Thomas Paine — *Sat verbum sapient* — ”

Another letter from Adams, dated July 15th, to William Bentley, says: “[J] A few weeks ago I received an Essex Register, containing resolutions of independence by a county in North Carolina . . . I was struck with so much astonishment on reading this document, that I could not help inclosing it immediately to Mr. Jefferson, who must have seen it, in the time of it,

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for he has copied the spirit, the sense, and the expressions of it *verbatim*, into his Declaration . . . Its total concealment from me is a mystery, which can be unriddled only by the timidity of the delegates in Congress from North Carolina, by the influence of Quakers and proprietary gentlemen in Pennsylvania, the remaining art and power of toryism throughout the continent at that time."

Jefferson replied, July 9th: "[P] what has attracted my peculiar notice is the paper from Mecklenburg county . . . I believe it spurious. I deem it to be a very unjustifiable quiz . . . if this paper be really taken²⁰ from the Raleigh Register, as quoted, I wonder it should have escaped Ritchie²¹, who culls what is good from every paper, as the bee from every flower; and the National Intelligencer too, which is edited by a N. Carolinian, and that the fire should blaze out all at once in Essex [Salem], 1000. miles from where the spark is said to have fallen. but if really taken from the Raleigh Register, who is the narrator, and is the name subscribed real²², or is it as fictitious as the paper itself? it appeals too to an original book, which is burnt, to *mr* Alexander who is dead, to a joint letter from Caswell, Hughes and Hooper, all dead, to a copy sent to the dead Caswell, and another sent to Doct^r Williamson whose memory, now probably dead, did not recollect, in the history he has written of N. Carolina, this Gigantic step of it's county of Mecklenburg. Horry too is silent in his history of Marion, whose scene of action was the county bordering on Mecklenburg Ramsay, Marshal, Jones, Girardin, Wirt, Historians of the adjacent states, all silent. when

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Mr Henry's resolutions²³, far short of independance, flew like lightning thro every paper and kindled both sides of the Atlantic, this flaming declaration of the same date, of the independance of Mecklenburg county of N. Carolina, absolving it from British allegiance, and objuring all political connection with that nation, altho' sent to Congress too, is never heard of. it is not known even a twelve month after even a similar proposition is first made in that body. armed with this bold example, would not you have addressed our timid brethren in peals of thunder, on their tardy fears? would not every advocate of independance have rung the glories of Mecklenburg county in N. Carolina in the ears of the doubting Dickinson and others, who hung so heavily on us? yet the example of independant Mecklenburg county in N. Carolina was never once quoted. the paper speaks too of the continued exertion of their delegation, (Caswell, Hooper, Hughes) "in the cause of liberty and independance." now you remember as well as I do, that we had not a greater tory in Congress than Hooper²⁴. that Hughes was very wavering, sometimes firm, sometimes feeble, according as the day was clear or cloudy; that Caswell indeed was a good whig, and kept these gentlemen to the notch, while he was present; but that he left us²⁵ soon, and their line of conduct became then uncertain till Penn came²⁶, who fixed Hughes and the vote of the state. I must not be understood as suggesting any doubtfulness in the state of N. Carolina. no state was more fixed or forward, nor do I affirm positively that this paper is a fabrication: because the proof of a negative can only be presumptive. but I shall believe it such

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until positive and solemn proof of it's authenticity shall be produced, and if the name of M^oKnitt be real, and not a part of the fabrication, it needs a vindication by the production of such proof. for the present I must be an unbeliever in this apocryphal gospel."

On the 21st, Adams wrote again: "[S] . . . your Letter of the 9th . . . has entirely convinced me that the Mecklenburg Resolutions are fiction . . . as they were unknown to youⁿ, they must have been unknown to all mankind — I have sent a copy of your letter to Salem, not to be printed but to be used as decisive authority for the Editor [Warwick Palfray, Jr.] to correct his error, in the Essex Register. — But who can be the Demon to invent such a machine after five and forty years, and what could be his Motive — was it to bring a Charge of Plagiarism against the Congress in 706, or against you; the undoubted acknowledged draughtsmen of the Declaration of Independence — or could it be the mere vanity of producing a jeu d'esprit, to set the world a guess and afford a topic of Conversation in this piping time of Peace — Had such Resolutions appeared in June 705. they would have flown through the Universe like wild fire; they would have Elevated the heads of the inhabitants of Boston; — and of all New-England above the Stars — and they would have rung a peal in Congress — to the utter Confusion of Tory'is'm and timidity, for a full year before they were discomfited —"

This letter was followed by a third (to Jefferson) but seven days later: "[S] I inclose you a National Register, to convince you that the Essex Register is not to blame for printing the Mecklingburg County Resolutions, on

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the Contrary I think it to be commended — for if those Resolutions were genuine they ought to be published in every Gazette in the World — If they are one of those tricks which our fashionable Men in England call hoax'es and boares — they ought to be printed in all American journals; exposed to public resentment and the Author of them hunted to his dark Cavern — ”

To Bentley, under date of August 21st, he says: “[J] I thank you for the Raleigh Register and National Intelligencer. The plot thickens . . . I was on social, friendly terms with Caswell, Hooper, and Hewes, every moment of their existence in Congress; with Hooper, a Bostonian, and a son of Harvard, intimate and familiar. Yet, from neither of the three did the slightest hint of these Mecklenburg resolutions ever escape . . . I cannot believe that they were known to one member of Congress on the fourth of July, 1776 . . . The papers of Dr. Hugh Williamson ought to be searched for the copy sent to him, and the copy sent to General W. R. Davie. The Declaration of Independence made by Congress . . . is a document . . . that ought not to be disgraced or trifled with.”

Discussion was now rife; and, on February 18, 1820, the *Raleigh Register* printed a number of affidavits and letters, introduced as follows: “²⁸ When the Declaration was first published in April last, some doubts were expressed in the Eastern papers as to its authenticity, (none of the Histories of the Revolution having noticed the circumstance.) Col. William Polk, of this City, (who, though a mere youth at the time, was present at the meeting which made the Declaration, and whose

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Father being Colonel of the County, appears to have acted a conspicuous part on the occasion,) observing this, assured us of the correctness of the facts generally, though he thought there were errors as to the name of the Secretary, &c. and said that he should probably be able to correct these, and throw some further light on the subject, by Enquiries amongst some of his old friends in Mecklenburg county. He has accordingly made Enquiries, and communicated to us . . . Documents²⁹ as the result, which, we presume, will do away [with] all doubts on the subject."

The matter was still further investigated, in 1831, under the direction of the General Assembly of the State and a report³⁰ made.

These (the *Raleigh Register* of 1820 and the report of the General Assembly, embracing other affidavits) established, it would seem, many of the facts at issue — certainly that, some time in May, 1775, certain resolutions of an advanced character were adopted in Mecklenburg County; that resolutions of an advanced character were publicly read by Thomas Polk and received with great joy; and that, in June, James Jack set out with a copy of resolutions of an advanced character for Congress, that he stopped at Salisbury, where, at the request of the General Court, an attorney by the name of Kennon read the resolutions, and that Jack delivered a copy of the resolutions to Caswell and Hooper in Philadelphia.

Many claim that these established also that the resolutions in question *expressly declared independence* and that the date of their adoption was May 20th.

With *this*, however, we cannot agree. Not only is

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the wording itself of almost all of the affidavits very uncertain, but it is very apparent that none of the affiants was considering — and we might in any event question the power of any of them to recall — the *exact wording* of the resolutions adopted or the *exact day* in May on which adopted.

Under these circumstances, *The South-Carolina Gazette ; and Country Journal* ³¹ of June 13, 1775, which has since come to light ³², is, we think, of the first importance. It contains :

³³ CHARLOTTE-TOWN, MECKLENBURG COUNTY, May 31 ³⁴, 1775

This day the Committee of this county met, and passed the following Resolves :

WHEREAS by an Address presented to his Majesty by both Houses of Parliament, in February last, the American colonies are declared to be in a state of actual rebellion, we conceive, that all laws and commissions confirmed by, or derived from the authority of the King or Parliament, are annulled and vacated, and the former civil constitution of these colonies, for the present, wholly suspended. To provide, in some degree, for the exigencies of this county, in the present alarming period, we deem it proper and necessary to pass the following Resolves ³⁵, viz :

I. That all commissions, civil and military, heretofore granted by the Crown, to be exercised in these colonies, are null and void, and the constitution of each particular colony wholly suspended.

II. That the Provincial Congress of each province, under the direction of the great Continental Congress, is invested with all legislative and executive powers within their respective provinces ; and that no other legislative or executive power, does, or can exist, at this time, in any of these colonies.

III. As all former laws are now suspended in this province, and the Congress have not yet provided others, we judge it

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necessary, for the preservation of good order, to form certain rules and regulations for the internal government of this county, until laws shall be provided for us by the Congress.

IV. That the inhabitants of this county do meet . . . and having formed themselves into nine companies . . . do chuse a Colonel and other military officers, who shall hold and exercise their several powers by virtue of this choice, and independent of the Crown of Great-Britain, and former constitution of this province.

V. That for the better preservation of the peace and administration of justice, each of those companies do chuse from their own body, two discreet freeholders, who shall be empowered . . . to decide and determine all matters of controversy . . .

VI . . .³⁸

XIV. That all these officers hold their commissions during the pleasure of their several constituents.

XV . . .

XVI. That whatever person shall hereafter receive a commission from the Crown, or attempt to exercise any such commission heretofore received, shall be deemed an enemy to his country . . .

XVII. That any person refusing to yield obedience to the above Resolves, shall be considered equally criminal . . .

XVIII. That these Resolves be in full force and virtue, until instructions from the Provincial Congress, regulating the jurisprudence of the province, shall provide otherwise, or the legislative body of Great-Britain, resign its unjust and arbitrary pretentions with respect to America.

XIX . . .

XX. That the Committee appoint Colonel Thomas Polk, and Doctor Joseph Kenedy, to purchase 300 lb. of powder . . .

Signed by order of the Committee,

EPH BREVARD³⁹, Clerk of the Committee.

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This certainly should be considered, we think, adequate proof that the "Committee of this county" of Mecklenburg passed the resolves³⁸ there given on May 31, 1775; and the only question, therefore, we think, is, Were the resolves accredited (in 1819) to the "delegation" composed of "two persons" from "each militia company" "in the county of Mecklenburg" and to the 20th of the same month *also* passed?

We cannot but say that this seems to us very unlikely.³⁹ We can see no reasons why the resolves attributed to the 20th, if in fact passed, should not have been the ones published in *The South-Carolina Gazette*, etc., rather than those of the 31st—especially as *some* resolves are admitted to have been read publicly in "Charlotte-Town" and in the General Court and sent to the Delegates in Congress and as it would be but natural to make public in the press the more pronounced, admitting that there were two sets of resolves. Indeed, if we can credit at all the resolves given in *The South-Carolina Gazette*, etc., the military companies would seem not to have been organized in Mecklenburg County until after the 31st and in accordance with these resolves.

Certain it is that Hewes, who is stated "individually" to have "approved" of the "proceedings" a copy of which was carried to Philadelphia by James Jack, writes, from Philadelphia, December 1st, to Samuel Johnston (?): "[N]o plan of Seperation has been offered, the Colonies will never Agree to Any 'till drove to it by dire Necessity. I wish the time may not come too soon, I fear it will be the case if the British Ministry pursue their present diabolical Schemes, I am weary of

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politicks and wish I could retire to my former private Station (to speak in the language of J. Child) a pence & farthings Man . . . P. S. The bearer W^m Chew who is sent express is to receive from you Sixty Dollars which you must charge to North Carolina, if he does not find you at Edenton he is to have Six pence ^{per} Mile and All ferryages paid, for any distance—that he may go out of his way to find you after he gets to Edenton[.]”

Of importance, too, are the facts that it also has come to light *since*⁴⁰ the report of the General Assembly that there was attached to the “Davie copy” a certificate from *John M’Knitte Alexander* and that this stated: “⁴¹ It may be worthy of notice here to observe that the foregoing statement though fundamentally correct, yet may not literally correspond with the original records of the transactions of said delegation and court of enquiry, as all those records and papers were burnt, with the house, on April 6th, 1800; but previous to that time of 1800, a full copy of said records, at the request of Doctor Hugh Williamson, then of New York, but formerly a representative in Congress from this State, was forwarded to him by Col. Wm. Polk in order that those early transactions might fill their proper place in a history of this State then writing by said Doctor Williams in New York. Certified to the best of my recollection and belief this 3d day of September, 1800, by J. McN. Alexander *Mecklenburg County, N. C.*”

On the other hand, it is zealously claimed that the resolves of the 20th were passed by a more or less popular assemblage (of which Alexander was clerk) and those of

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the 31st by the regular Committee of the County⁴²; or that those of the 31st were a revised set⁴³.

The passage in *May, 1775*, of even such resolutions as are given in *The South-Carolina Gazette*, etc., however, are greatly to the credit of Mecklenburg County; but they do not take from the fame of Jefferson.

It was not until Lexington and Concord — followed shortly by the death of Warren at Bunker Hill — that a declaration of independence became even a *possibility*.

Jefferson⁴⁴ writes, May 7th, to Dr. William Small: "This accident has cut off our last hope of reconciliation, and a phrenzy of revenge seems to have seized all ranks of people . . . This may perhaps be intended to intimidate into acquiescence; but the effect has been most unfortunately otherwise."⁴⁵

Samuel Adams, according to his biographer, came to the second Continental Congress (May 10th) "[W] impressed with the necessity of an immediate declaration of independence." (Indeed, there is a note among the Bancroft papers in the New York Public Library, Lenox, which says: "Sam^l Adams said to Rush: For seven years before the commencement of the war [i. e. from 1768] independence has been the first wish of my heart.")

Franklin⁴⁶, May 16th, sends a letter to London in which he says: "[X] The breach between the two countries is grown wider, and in danger of becoming irreparable"; and, on December 9th, he writes, to Charles W. F. Dumas: "[X] . . . we wish to know whether . . . if, as it seems likely to happen, we should be

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obliged to break off all connection with Britain, and declare ourselves an independent people, there is any state or power in Europe who would be willing to enter into an alliance with us for the benefit of our commerce . . .”

Dr. Benjamin Church writes, July 23d: “The people of Connecticut are raving in the cause of liberty . . . The Jerseys are not a whit behind Connecticut in zeal. The Philadelphians exceed them both . . . I mingled freely and frequently with the members of the Continental Congress; they were united and determined in opposition . . . A view to independence appears to be more and more general.”

John Adams writes, to James Warren, July 24th: “[J] We ought to have had in our hands, a month ago, the whole legislative, executive, and judicial of the whole continent, and have completely modelled a constitution; to have raised a naval power, and opened all our ports wide; to have arrested every friend of government on the continent and held them as hostages for the poor victims in Boston, and then opened the door as wide as possible for peace and reconciliation. After this, they might have petitioned, negotiated, addressed, &c. if they would.”

This, with a letter to his wife, fell into the hands of the enemy and was sent to England and published. Adams, in his *Autobiography*⁴⁷, says: “[J] They [the British] thought them a great prize. The ideas of independence, to be sure, were glaring enough, and they thought they should produce quarrels among the members of Congress and a division of the Colonies. Me they expected⁴⁸ utterly to ruin, because, as they repre-

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sented, I had explicitly avowed my designs of independence. I cared nothing for this. I had made no secret, in or out of Congress, of my opinion that independence was become indispensable, and I was perfectly sure that in a little time the whole continent would be of my mind. I rather rejoiced in this as a fortunate circumstance, that the idea was held up to the whole world, and that the people could not avoid contemplating it and reasoning about it. Accordingly, from this time at least, if not earlier, and not from the publication of 'Common Sense,' did the people in all parts of the continent turn their attention to this subject . . . Colonel Reed . . . said that Providence seemed to have thrown those letters before the public for our good . . ."

A member of Congress writes, to London, August 26th: "All trade to England, and every other part of the world, will most certainly be stopped on the tenth of next month . . . Whether that will be one means of dissolving our connections entirely with Great Britain, I shall leave to wiser heads to determine. I am far, very far, from wishing such an event, but, nevertheless, I am very apprehensive, from the present temper of our people, that a few more violent steps will lay a foundation for it."

General Greene writes, to Washington from Prospect Hill, October 23d: "I hinted, in my last, that people begin heartily to wish a declaration of independence . . ." On December 20th, he says: "George the Third's last speech has shut the door of hope for reconciliation . . . We are now driven to the necessity of making a declaration of independence."

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Bowdoin writes, to Samuel Adams, December 9th: “⁴⁹ Our salvation under God depends upon a spirited exertion upon our part, & therefore all delicacy in our hostilities ought to be laid aside . . . We have already shewn too much of it, which instead of attributing it to the true cause — a desire on our part of a reconciliation & the keeping open a door for it — they have looked on as proceeding wholly from pusillanimity, which they expected would end, if rigorous measures were taken with us, in an abject submission . . . The Independence of America will probably grow out of the present dispute. A willing dependence on Great Britain cannot easily be apprehended, as her injuries have been so many & grievous, & all confidence in her justice is lost: — to such a degree lost, that we should not know how to trust her, even if she were sincerely to offer equitable terms of accommodation . . . I beg you would present my best regards to D. Franklin, Mr. Lynch, Col^o Harrison, & the Mass^t Delegates . . .”

The second Continental Congress also met (May 10th) in Philadelphia — but at the State House, not at Carpenters' Hall. Franklin ⁵⁰ had left England on March 21st, had arrived in Philadelphia on May 5th and had been unanimously chosen a Delegate by Pennsylvania on the 6th. The other new Delegates who appeared in Congress on the 10th were John Hancock ^{50 51} of Massachusetts, John Langdon ⁵² of New Hampshire, Thomas Willing ⁵³ of Pennsylvania and John Hall ⁵⁴ of Maryland. Still others attended later: Lyman Hall ^{50 55} from the Parish of St. John's in Georgia and Thomas Stone ^{50 56} of Mary-

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land on the 13th; Philip Schuyler⁵⁷, George Clinton^{57 58}, Lewis Morris⁵⁷ (who arrived in Philadelphia on the 10th) and Robert R. Livingston⁵⁷ of New York and James Wilson^{50 58} of Pennsylvania on the 15th; Jefferson^{50 59} of Virginia on June 21st; and Archibald Bullock⁶⁰, John Houston⁶⁰ and Rev. J. J. Zubly⁶⁰ of Georgia on September 13th. New York had elected for the first time also Francis Lewis^{50 57 61}. On the last day (September 13th) appeared as well George Wythe^{50 62}, Thomas Nelson, Jr.,^{50 62} and Francis Lightfoot Lee^{50 62} of Virginia—who had been elected for the first time following the adjournment⁶³ of Congress. Following this adjournment, New Hampshire also elected one new Delegate—Josiah Bartlett^{50 64}; North Carolina also one new Delegate—John Penn^{50 65}; Connecticut also two new Delegates—Samuel Huntington^{50 66 67} and Oliver Wolcott^{50 66 67} (together with one new alternate—William Williams^{50 66 68}); Pennsylvania two new Delegates—Robert Morris^{50 69} and Andrew Allen⁶⁹; Maryland two new Delegates—Robert Alexander⁷⁰ and John Rogers⁷⁰; and Virginia one new Delegate—Carter Braxton⁷¹.

Randolph was for the second time elected President.

He served, however, for a few days only. On the 24th of May, as shown by the Journal, "The Congress met according to adjournment, but the hon^{ble} Peyton Randolph Pres^t being under a necessity of returning home & having set out this morning early the chair was vacant wherefore on motion, the Hon^{ble} John Hancock⁷² was unanimously chosen President."

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This Congress, during the year, like the Congress of 1774, took no action whatever upon the question of independence.

John Adams writes to his wife, June 11th: "[Ad] I have found this Congress like the last. When we first came together, I found a strong jealousy of us from New England, and the Massachusetts in particular; suspicions entertained of designs of independency; an American Republic; Presbyterian principles, and twenty other things. Our sentiments were heard in Congress with great caution, and seemed to make but little impression; but the longer we sat, the more clearly they saw the necessity of pushing vigorous measures. It has been so now . . . But America is a great unwieldy body. Its progress must be slow . . . Like a coach and six, the swiftest horses must be slackened, and the slowest quickened, that all may keep an even pace."

Franklin, in a letter of October 3d, says: "[X] We have as yet resolved only on defensive measures."

The spirit⁷⁸ which prevailed in the body is well shown by an incident described by Jefferson in his *Autobiography*: "[S] m^r Dickinson . . . still retained the object of reconciliation . . . he was so honest a man, and so able a one that he was greatly indulged even by those who could not feel his scruples . . . Congress gave a signal proof of their indulgence to m^r Dickinson, and of their great desire not to go too fast for any respectable part of our body, in permitting him to draw their second petition to the king according to his own ideas, and passing it with scarcely any amendment. the disgust against it's humility was general; and m^r Dickinson's delight at

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it's passage was the only circumstance which reconciled them to it. the vote being past, altho' further observ'n on it was out of order, he could not refrain from rising and expressing his satisfaction and concluded by saying "there is but one word, m^r President, in the paper which I disapprove, & that is the word *Congress*." on which Ben Harrison rose and said "there is but one word in the paper, m^r President, of which I approve, and that is the word Congress [.]""

Indeed, looking backward, many of the words of this Congress seem like anomalies! Especially is this true of the declaration — the most important measure of the year — setting forth the causes of taking up arms. Though, in effect, a declaration of war, it said: "Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the Empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored."

III

SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIX

JANUARY 3, 1776, gave being to the new army at Cambridge. Washington — whose life Robert Morris, six months later, declared “[U] the most valuable in America” — hoisted the Union flag, in compliment to the united Colonies. On the 30th, he writes thence to the President of Congress: “[Y] The clouds thicken fast; where they will burst, I know not; but we should be armed at all points.”

This was always Washington's appeal.

At no time, so far as we know, did he waste his powers, or invite the refusal of his constant and necessary demands upon Congress, by urging upon it or any of its members a declaration of independence.

To Joseph Reed, however, Washington, in 1776, openly expressed his opinions. On January 31st, he writes: “[Y] A few more of such flaming arguments, as were exhibited at Falmouth and Norfolk, added to the sound doctrine and unanswerable reasoning contained in the pamphlet ‘Common Sense,’¹ will not leave numbers at a loss to decide upon the propriety of a separation”; on February 10th, though his situation, as described by himself, had “[Y] been such, that I have been obliged to use art to conceal it from my own officers”: “With respect to myself, I have never entertained an idea of an

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accommodation, since I heard of the measures, which were adopted in consequence of the Bunker's Hill fight. The King's speech has confirmed the sentiments I entertained upon the news of that affair; and, if every man was of my mind, the ministers of Great Britain should know . . . that, if nothing else could satisfy a tyrant and his diabolical ministry, we are determined to shake off all connexions with a state so unjust and unnatural. This I would tell them, not under covert, but in words as clear as the sun in its meridian brightness"; and, on April 15th²: "[Y] I am exceedingly concerned to hear³ of the divisions and parties, which prevail with you, and in the southern colonies, on the score of independence. These are the shelves we have to avoid or our bark will split and tumble to pieces . . . Nothing but disunion can hurt our cause."

Indeed, William Palfray (evidently) writes from New York to Samuel Adams, May 24th: "[SA] As it may be of some importance to you to know General W's Sentiments respecting the grand point of American independence I think my duty to acquaint you that I have heard him converse several times lately on the Subject, and delivered it as his opinion that a reconciliation with Great Britain is impracticable impolitic, and would be in the highest degree detrimental to the true Interests of America — That when he first took the Command of the Army he abhorred the Idea of independence but is now fully convinced nothing else will save us —"

Two days before the birth of the new army, we find the Assembly of New Hampshire "establishing a form

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of Government, to continue during the present unhappy and unnatural contest with Great Britain ; protesting and declaring, that we never sought to throw off our dependence upon Great Britain . . . and that we shall rejoice if such a reconciliation . . . can be effected, as shall be approved by the Continental Congress, in whose prudence and wisdom we confide.”⁴

Massachusetts, on the contrary, on the 18th of the same month (January), fully empowered her Delegates (Hancock, the Adamses, Paine and Elbridge Gerry), “with the Delegates from the other American Colonies, to concert, direct, and order such further measures as shall to them appear best calculated for the recovery and establishment of American rights and liberties” — words which might be *implied* to include the power to join in a declaration of independence, though they evidently were not so intended and, as we shall see, were not so construed.

John Adams, who had left Congress, on leave of absence, December 9, 1775, and Gerry, who was elected⁵ for the first time on the 18th (of January, 1776), proceeded⁶ together to Philadelphia and took their seats on February 9th.

Adams, in his *Autobiography*, tells us : “[J] Mr. Samuel Adams, Mr. Gerry and myself now composed a majority of the Massachusetts delegation, and we were no longer vexed or enfeebled by divisions among ourselves, or by indecision or indolence.”

At another place in his *Autobiography*, — indistinctly intermingling his views following his return with those

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of the preceding Fall, from his return after the adjournment on August 1st to his departure on the leave of absence — he says: “[J] At the appointed time [Wednesday, September 5, 1775], we returned to Philadelphia, and Congress were reassembled . . . almost every day I had something to say about advising the States to institute governments, to express my total despair of any good from . . . any of those things which were called conciliatory measures. I constantly insisted . . . that we should be driven to the necessity of declaring ourselves independent States, and that we ought now to be employed in preparing a plan of confederation for the Colonies and treaties . . . together with a declaration of independence; that these three measures, independence, confederation, and negotiations with foreign powers, particularly France, ought to go hand in hand⁷, and be adopted all together; that foreign powers could not be expected to acknowledge us till we had acknowledged ourselves, and taken our station among them as a sovereign power and independent nation . . . Some gentlemen doubted of the sentiments of France; thought she would frown upon us as rebels, and be afraid to countenance the example. I replied to those gentlemen, that I apprehended they had not attended to the relative situation of France and England; that it was the unquestionable interest of France that the . . . Colonies should be independent . . . When I first made these observations in Congress, I never saw a greater impression made upon that assembly or any other. Attention and approbation were marked upon every countenance. Several gentlemen came to me afterwards, to thank me

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for that speech, particularly Mr. Cæsar Rodney, of Delaware, and Mr. Duane, of New York. I remember these two gentlemen in particular, because both of them said that I had considered the subject of foreign connections more maturely than any man they had ever heard in America . . . These and such as these, were my constant and daily topics, sometimes of reasoning and no doubt often of declamation, from the meeting of Congress in the autumn of 1775, through the whole winter and spring of 1776.⁸ Many motions were made, and after tedious discussions, lost. I received little assistance from my colleagues in all these contests; three⁹ of them were either inclined to lean towards Mr. Dickinson's system, or at least chose to be silent, and the fourth [Samuel Adams evidently] spoke but rarely in Congress, and never entered into any extensive arguments, though, when he did speak, his sentiments were clear and pertinent and neatly expressed. Mr. Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, Mr. Sherman, of Connecticut, and Mr. Gadsden¹⁰, of South Carolina, were always on my side, and Mr. Chase¹¹, of Maryland, when he did speak at all, was always powerful, and generally with us. Mr. Johnson¹², of Maryland, was the most frequent speaker from that State, and, while he remained with us, was inclined to Mr. Dickinson for some time, but ere long he and all his State came cordially into our system."

Gerry writes, to James Warren, *March 26th*: "[O] You are desirous of knowing what capital measures are proposed in congress. I refer you to . . . what is done concerning privateering . . . This will not in itself satisfy you, and *I hope nothing will, short of a determination of*

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America to hold her rank in the creation, and give law to herself. I doubt not this will soon take place . . . I sincerely wish you would originate instructions¹³, expressed with decency and firmness — your own style — and give your sentiments as a court in favour of independency. I am certain it would turn many doubtful minds, and produce a reversal of the contrary instructions adopted by some assemblies. Some timid minds are terrified at the word independence. If you think caution in this respect good policy, change the name. America has gone such lengths she cannot recede, and I am convinced a few weeks or months at furthest will convince her of the fact, but the fruit must have time to ripen in some of the other colonies . . .”¹⁴

Samuel Adams (who, not long before, had been “[SA] indisposd” in Baltimore, “so as to be obligd to keep my Chamber ten days, I was unable to travel with my Friends”; and to whom, on February 12th, his wife had written: “[SA] I Received your affectinate Letter by Fesenton and thank you for your Kind Concern for My health and Safty. I beg you Would not give your self any pain on our being so Near the Camp. the place I am in is so situated that if the Regulars should Even take prospect hill . . . I should be able to Make an Escape — as I am Within a few stons Cast of a Back Road Which Leads to the Most Retired part of Newtown . . . P S I beg you to Excuse the very poor Writing as My paper is Bad and my pen made with scissars — I should be glad . . . if you should not come down soon you would Write me Word Who to apply to for some Monney for I am low in

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Cash and Every thing is very dear") writes, April 3d, to Dr. Samuel Cooper¹⁶: "[SA] Is not America already independent? Why then not declare it? . . . Can Nations at War be said to be dependent either upon the other? I ask then again, why not declare for Independence? Because say some, it will forever shut the Door of Reconciliation . . . By such a Reconciliation she would not only in the most shameful Manner acknowledge the Tyranny, but most wickedly, as far as would be in her Power, prevent her Posterity from ever hereafter resisting it."

His words of the 15th to Joseph Hawley are equally forcible: "[SA] I am perfectly satisfied with the Reasons you offer to show the Necessity of a publick & explicit Declaration of Independency. — I cannot conceive what good Reason can be assignd against it. Will it widen the Breach? This would be a strange Question after we have raised Armies and fought Battles with the British Troops, set up an American Navy . . . It cannot surely after all this be imagin'd that we consider ourselves or mean to be considered by others in any State but that of Independence. But moderate Whigs are disgusted with our mentioning the Word! Sensible Tories are better Politicians. — *They* know, that no foreign Power can consistently yield Comfort to Rebels, or enter into any kind of Treaty with these Colonies till they declare themselves free and independent . . . moderate Gentlemen are flattering themselves with the prospect of Reconciliation . . ."

The letter to Hawley was followed by one the next day to Warren: "[W] The only alternative is inde-

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pendence or slavery . . . One of our moderate, prudent Whigs would be startled at what I now write . . . they would continue the conflict a century. There are such moderate men here, but their principles are daily growing out of fashion. The child Independence is now struggling for birth. I trust that in a short time it will be brought forth, and in spite of Pharaoh, all America will hail the dignified stranger."

On the last day of April, he writes—again to Cooper: "[SA] I am to acknowledge the Receipt of your Favor of the 18th Instant by the Post—The Ideas of Independence spread far and wide among the Colonies—Many of the leading Men see the absurdity of supposing that Allegiance is due to a Sovereign who has already thrown us out of his Protection—South Carolina has lately assumed a new Government—The Convention of North Carolina have unanimously agreed to do the same . . . Virginia whose Convention is to meet on the third of next month will follow the lead—The Body of the People of Maryland are firm—Some of the principal Members of their Convention, I am inclined to believe, are timid and lukewarm . . . The lower Counties in Delaware are a small People but well affected to the Common Cause—In this populous and wealthy Colony [Pennsylvania] political Parties run high—The Newspapers are full of the Matter but I think I may assure you that Common Sense, prevails among the people . . . The Jerseys are agitating the great Question—It is with them rather a Matter of Prudence whether to determine till some others have done it before them . . . their Sentiments & Manners are I believe similar to those of N

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England—I forbear to say anything of New York, for I confess I am not able to form any opinion of them . . . I think they are at least as unenlightened in the Nature and Importance of our political Disputes as any one of the united Colonies—I have not mentioned our little Sister Georgia; but I believe she is as warmly engaged in the Cause as any of us, & will do as much as can be reasonably expected of her — — I was very solicitous the last Fall to have Governments set up by the people in every Colony . . . When this is done, and I am inclined to think it will be soon, the Colonies will feel their Independence . . . I am disappointed, but I bear it tolerably well . . . There has been much to do to confirm doubting Friends & fortify the Timid . . . The Boston Port bill suddenly wrought a Union of the Colonies which could not be brought about by the Industry of years in reasoning on the Necessity of it for the Common Safety . . . The burning of Norfolk & the Hostilities committed in North Carolina have kindled the Resentment of our Southern Brethren who once thought their Eastern Friends hot headed & rash . . . There is a Reason that would induce one even to wish for the speedy Arrival of the British Troops that are expected at the Southward—I think our friends are well prepared for them & one Battle would do more towards a Declaration of Independence than a long chain of conclusive Arguments in a provincial Convention or the Continental Congress—”

The sentiments meanwhile of some of the constituents themselves, in the Commonwealth, and the result (evidently) of Gerry’s letter of March 26th to Warren also have come down to us :

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On the 18th and 20th of February, Hawley thus declares to Gerry¹⁶: "I have read the pamphlet, entitled, 'Common Sense, addressed to the Inhabitants of America,' and every sentiment has sunk into my well-prepared heart . . ." ". . . if we resolve on independence, what will hinder but that we may instantly commence a trade not only with Holland, France, and Spain, but with all the world? . . . Pray consider this matter with regard to Canada and the Dutch of New-York. Will they ever join with us heartily, who, in order to do it, must sacrifice their trade . . . Whereas, the moment that we resolve on independence, trade will be free for them—for the one to France and the other to Holland . . . Independence, in short, is the only way to union and harmony, to vigour and despatch in business; our eye will be single, and our whole body full of light; anything short of it will, as appears to me, be our destruction, infallible destruction, and that speedily."

On March 26th, Edmund Quincy writes to his daughter, Mrs. Dorothy Hancock: "¹⁷ May we deserve a Continuance of the Protection of Heaven & may there be soon an Accomodation or Seperation of y^e Younger from y^e Older States; the Last I expect will be the necessary Effect of y^e unnatural Treatment we have received—The voice of the people in these N^o Colonies seems almost universally in favor of independency as far as I can perceive . . . It is my real Opinion y^e *set time is come* wherein *Providence* has appointed the Flourishing States to withdraw themselves from y^e Controul of all other . . ."

On the 1st of the next month, Hawley, at Watertown,

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urges Samuel Adams as he had previously urged Gerry :
“[SA] Give me leave to tell you that an imēdiate explicit
and y^e firmest *Confederation* and Proclamation of *Inde-
pendance* may be more necessary than you are aware —
unless it Shall be done and declared very soon — Infinite
jealousies will arise in the breasts of the People and
when they begin to spring up they will increase amaz-
ingly . . . All will be in confusion if independance is
not declared immediately [.]”

On the 28th of April, John Adams writes to his wife :
“You tell me our jurors refuse to serve, because the
writs are issued in the King’s name” ; and, on the 29th,
a letter from Boston says : “Common Sense, like a ray
of revelation, has come in seasonably to clear our doubts,
and to fix our choice.”

Another letter of the same month¹⁸, to John Adams,
from J. Winthrop, at Watertown, says : “[Qy] I hope
Common Sense is in as high estimation at the Southward
as with us. Tis universally admired here. If the Con-
gress should adopt the Sentiments of it, it would give the
greatest satisfaction to our people.”

On May 1st, Hawley writes to Gerry : “The Tories
dread a declaration of Independence, and a course of
conduct on that plan, more than death. They console
themselves with a belief that the Southern Colonies will
not accede to it. My hand and heart are full of it.
There will be no abiding union without it.”

On the 13th, Cooper replies, from Boston, to the
second letter of Samuel Adams to him : “[SA] I am
much oblig’d to you for your Favor 30th Apr. which I
receiv’d by the Post the Evening before last, and am

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glad to find Affairs are in so good a Train in the Southern Colonies; In N. England the Voice is almost universal for Independance . . . Our General Court is dissolved [?]— Before this took place, the House pass'd a Vote to consult their Constituents, whether they would instruct their future Representatives to move the Continental Congress for Independance— I can only assure you of the Substance of the Vote; the Form of it was not clearly related to me. The House sent up this Vote to the Council for their Concurrence— The Propriety of this was doubted by some, who did not think the Council could properly act on such an affair. It was however done, and the Council negativ'd the Vote. Mr Cushing among others was against it. He said that it would embarrass the Congress—that we ought to wait till they mov'd the Question to us—that it would prejudice the other Colonies against us—and that you had wrote to some Body here, that things with you were going on slowly and surely, and any Kind of Eagerness in us upon this Question would do Hurt. Others said that the Congress might not choose to move such a Point to their Constituents tho they might be very glad to know their minds upon it—that it was beginning at the right End for the Constituents to instruct their Delegates at Congress, & not wait for their asking Instructions from their Constituents—that the Question had been long thought of & agitated thro the Colonies, & it was now high Time to come to some Determination upon it; otherwise our artful Enemies might sew the Seeds of Dissention among us to the great Prejudice if not Ruin of the common Cause. The House, tho they would have been glad of

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the Concurrence of the Council in this Matter, have determin'd to proceed without them ; and Instructions will go from all Parts on this Head ; and it seems, by Appearances thro the Continent, you will not be able to defer a great While your Decision on this grand Question. — ”

On the 17th, Hawley, at Northampton, writes another urgent letter to Samuel Adams.

On the 20th, B. Hichborn writes to John Adams¹⁹, from Boston : “[Qy] The principal political topic of Conversation is Independance — & I think the people almost una voce, are wishing for its immediate Declaration — we are often checked by real or fictitious accounts from the Southward, of a contrary disposition in a large Majority of the People there — Some opinions say the Continental Congress will, others that they will not make such a Declaration, without consulting their Constituents — can't we be relieved from this uncertainty ? ”

On the 22d, Hawley, at Springfield, writes to Samuel Adams : “[SA] Before this You have rec^d the Acc^t of the routing of the continental forces before Quebec — Will your Congress now delay for a Moment the most explicit declaration of *independance* [?] ”

On June 1st, Winthrop — speaking of what is considered later — writes again to John Adams : “[Qy] I have often wondered, that so much difficulty should be raised about declaring independence, when we have actually got the *thing* itself . . . I now perceive you were in these sentiments long ago. But they are very opposite to the inveterate prejudices and long-established systems of many others. It must be a work of time to eradicate

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these prejudices. And perhaps it may be best to accomplish this great affair by slow and almost imperceptible steps, and not *per saltum*, by one violent exertion. The late Resolve of May 15. comes very near it."

On the next day, Hawley, at Watertown, writes to Gerry: "[SA] I do not mean that Confederations and a Declaration of Independance Should be made without a good prospect of its taking in all the Colonies — We are ripe for it here — But as nothing Short of it can Save us, if a Clear Vote can be Obtain^d for it in Congress, will it not do to risk it? I imagine that it will take everywhere."

Indeed, on June 13th (Thursday), Hawley writes, to Gerry: "You cannot declare Independence too soon . . . When the present House here called last week, for the instructions of the several towns touching Independency, agreeable to the recommendation of the last House²⁰ . . . it appeared that about two-thirds of the towns in the Colony had met, and all instructed in the affirmative²¹, and generally returned to be unanimous. As to the other towns²², the accounts of their Members were, either that they were about to meet, or that they had not received the notice, as it was given only in the newspapers. Whereupon, the House immediately ordered the unnotified towns to be notified by handbills, and in a short time undoubtedly we shall have returns from all; and it is almost certain that the returns will be universally to support the Congress, with their lives and fortunes, in case of a declaration of Independence."

Before (January 4th) any of these letters was written and even before *Common Sense* appeared, General Greene,

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then at "Camp on Prospect-Hill", wrote to Ward : "Permit me, then, to recommend from the sincerity of my heart, ready at all times to bleed in my country's cause, a declaration of independence ; and call upon the world, and the great God who governs it, to witness the necessity, propriety, and rectitude thereof."

What Ward replied, if anything, we do not know ; but John Adams²³ writes *of* him, August 18th : "My friend [James] Warren, the late Governour Ward, and Mr. Gadsden, are three characters in which I have seen the most generous disdain of every spice and species of [selfish design] . . . The two last had not great abilities, but they had pure hearts. Yet they had less influence than many others, who had neither so considerable parts, nor any share at all of their purity of intention." Indeed, "Gov^r Ward . . . died last night of the Small Pox " as shown by the *Diary* of Richard Smith for March 26th, over two months before the question of declaring independence came (directly) before Congress.

As early as Ward's death, the trend of events, however, was being felt by some of the members of that body—among them Gerry, as we have seen by his (first) letter to Warren, asking Warren to originate instructions, written on the very day on which Ward died ; and Hopkins, the remaining Delegate, very naturally, therefore, communicated—April 8th²⁴—with Governor Nicholas Cooke, making certain "queries concerning dependance or independence."

The General Assembly (of Rhode Island) accordingly, on May 4th, elected William Ellery²⁵ to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Ward and, at the same time, in-

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structed her Delegates "to consult and advise with the Delegates of the said [other] Colonies in Congress upon the most proper measures . . . to secure the said Colonies their rights and liberties . . . whether by entering into treaties . . . or by such other prudent and effectual ways and means as shall be devised and agreed upon . . ."

Of these instructions, Washington was immediately notified, by Cooke, by letter of the 6th; and, on the 7th, writing from Providence, Cooke replied to Hopkins' letter, as follows: "[G] I am to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th inst., which I laid before the General Assembly, who appointed a committee to take it into consideration and prepare instructions to the delegates. Dependency is a word of so equivocal a meaning, and hath been used for such ill purposes, and independency, with many honest and ignorant people carrying the idea of eternal warfare, the committee thought it best to avoid making use of either of them. The instructions you will receive herewith, passed both houses *nemine contradicente*. I enclose an act discharging the inhabitants of the Colony from allegiance to the British King . . . The first mentioned act, after being debated, was carried in the lower house almost unanimously, there being upward of sixty members present, and but six votes against it. Towards the close of the session, a vote passed the lower house for taking the sense of the inhabitants at large upon the question of independency. The upper house were of the opinion that although a very great majority of the Colony were perfectly ripe for such a question, yet, upon its being canvassed, several towns would vote against it, and that the

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appearance of disunion would be injurious to the common cause, and represented to the lower house that it was very probable the subject would be discussed in Congress, before it would be possible to take the sense of the Colony in the proposed way and transmit it to the delegates, in which case, they would be laid under the necessity of waiting for the sentiments of their constituents, and of course the Colony would lose its voice, and the delegates when they should receive a copy of the act renouncing allegiance, and of the instructions, could not possibly entertain a doubt of the sense of the General Assembly; upon which the subject was dropped."

The "upper house" seems to have been correct in their judgment; for Hopkins, in his answering letter — dated May 15th — to Cooke, says: "Your favour of the 7th May I have received, and the papers enclosed in it. I observe that you have avoided giving me a direct answer to my queries concerning dependence or independence. However, the copy of the act of Assembly which you have sent me, together with our instructions, leave me little room to doubt what is the opinion of the Colony I came from. I suppose it will not be long before Congress will throw off all connection, as well in name as in substance, with Great Britain, as one thing after another seems gradually to lead them to such a step . . ."

The General Assembly of Connecticut, sitting at Hartford, — Trumbull and Williams being present — resolved, June 14th, "that the Delegates . . . be, and they are hereby, instructed to propose to that respectable body to

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declare the United American Colonies free and independent States . . .”

This was just a week after the resolution²⁶ of May 15th of the Convention of Virginia *to the same effect* appeared in *The Connecticut Gazette*; and the *Universal Intelligencer* (N), published in New London, and after a Delegate of Virginia, as we shall see, had so proposed to Congress.

The Provincial Congress of New Jersey, sitting at New Brunswick, — Abraham Clark and John Hart evidently being present but seemingly none of her Delegates — instructed her Delegates, March 2d: “You must be sensible that this Congress are extremely destitute of the means of information, compared with your body, and, of course, unable to point out any certain line of conduct for you to pursue. Your deliberations must no doubt be formed upon the measures of the British Ministry, which are uncertain, extraordinary, and new almost every week. We, therefore, only request that you would join in the general voice of the United Colonies, and pursue such measures as you may judge most beneficial for the publick good of all the Colonies.”

Her Delegates at this time were William Livingston, Richard Smith, De Hart, Jonathan D. Sergeant and John Cooper.²⁷

Sergeant writes to John Adams, April 6th: “[Qy] I arrived here [doubtless Princeton] last evening in a very indifferent State of Health & shall return or not return [to Philadelphia] according as I have Reason to believe I may be more useful here or there . . . My Head

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achs & my Heart aches. I tremble for the Timidity of our Counsels. — ”

Five days later, certainly at Princeton, he tells Adams : “ [Qy] The Jersey Delegates (will You believe it) are not in the sweetest Disposition with one another. M^r D’Hart has gone home with an avowed Determination not to return without General Livingston²⁸ & at the same Time has declared that he will offer himself as a Candidate for the Provincial Convention thinking that a more important Post, in order that he may control the mad Fellows who now compose that Body. — He has signified the dangerous Disposition of M^r Smyth & another of his Colleagues; and all the great & the mighty ones in the Colony are preparing to make their last Stand against the Principles of levelling which prevails in it. M^r Smith’s Health²⁹ it seems will not admit of his Attendance, at least not very steadily. — In the mean Time I have engaged to return whenever called upon by General Livingston & M^r D’Hart; but rather believe they will not call upon me, tho I have wrote to them requesting it, in Order that the colony may not be *unrepresented*; — tho I fear it will be *misrepresented* if we attend.³⁰ Whether to return without them is a matter of some Doubt with me, especially since I have been told that some very pious People are circulating a Rumour that I left Congress in Disgust at the Doctrines of Independency which are now advanced. — Whether I may not do more good at home considering all things I am at a Loss to determine. — If my Colleagues should go into the Provincial Convention I should be glad to meet them there; and I know the old Leven of Un-

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righteousness will strive hard to poison that Body by pushing in every Creature that can lisp against Independence, which in other Words, in my Opinion, is every Creature who would wish to give up the Quarrel. In Congress, if I am to be alone, it will avail little; if with my Colleagues less still . . . From this State of the Case I should be much obliged by your Opinion . . .³¹ Sunday I must determine one Way or the other if possible . . .³² P. S. . . . The grand Difficulty here is that People seem to expect Congress should take the first Step *by declaring Independence*, as they phrase it . . . I declare boldly to People Congress will not declare Independence in Form; they are independent; every Act is that of Independence and all we have to do is to establish Order & Government in each Colony that we may support them in it. — Could not this idea be substituted in the place of Independence in the Controversy, which, as it is treated, is no determinate Object, — brings Nothing to an Issue. — ”

May 20th, he writes (also from Princeton to Adams): “ [Qy] I wrote You soon after I arrived here . . . Ever since I have seen the Inside of Congress I have trembled. Nothing short of a radical Change in the Councils of our Middle Colonies can, I am persuaded, by any Means save us . . . Next Week is our Election. I wish I may obtain a Seat in the Convention; but am not over sanguine in my Hopes tho I believe I could easily accomplish it by going out of my present County into the one I came from. However am in Hopes they will chuse good Men there. After the Election I expect to pay You a Visit for a short time; but am determined

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that I will not continue to attend [in Congress] along with my present Colleagues any longer than I can avoid. At present, several little Circumstances will form an excuse for my being absent."

This letter (of May 20th), as shown by its superscription, was delivered³³ to Adams by "Favour of Dr Wither-spoon", who had, himself, three days before it was written, delivered at Princeton a sermon³⁴ on "The Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men" in which he said: "³⁵ . . . for these colonies to depend wholly upon the legislature of Great Britain, would be like many other oppressive connexions, injury to the master, and ruin to the slave . . . If on account of their distance and ignorance of our situation, they could not conduct their own quarrel with propriety for one year, how can they give direction and vigour to every department of our civil constitutions, from age to age? There are fixed bounds to every human thing. When the branches of a tree grow very large and weighty, they fall off from the trunk. The sharpest sword will not pierce when it cannot reach. And there is a certain distance from the seat of government where an attempt to rule will either produce tyranny and helpless subjection, or provoke resistance and effect a separation."

Samuel Adams' letter³⁶ of April 30th has given us some idea of the feeling that prevailed in Pennsylvania.

On the day this letter was written, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer also writes from Philadelphia, to Charles Carroll: "To-morrow will determine the question of Dependence or Independence, in this city, by the elec-

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tion of four additional members of Assembly . . . It is expected³⁷ this contest will not end without blows"; and, on the next day, George Read, also from Philadelphia, to his wife, at Wilmington: "[GR] I flatter myself that I shall see you on Saturday next. Last Saturday the Congress sat, and I could not be absent . . . This day is their election for additional members of Assembly. Great strife is expected. Their fixed candidates are not known. One side talk of Thomas Willing, Andrew Allen, Alexander Wilcox, and Samuel Howell, against independency; the other, Daniel Roberdeau, George Clymer, Mark Kuhl, and a fourth I don't recollect; but it is thought other persons would be put up."

The election is thus described by Marshall: "³⁸ This has been one of the sharpest contests, yet peaceable, that has been for a number of years . . . I think it may be said with propriety that the Quakers, Papists, Church, Allen family, with all the proprietary party, were never seemingly so happily united . . ."

The resolve of Congress of May 15th, recommending, as we shall see³⁹, the adoption, where not already existing, of proper "government", however, changed the face of affairs.⁴⁰ Indeed, as Bancroft aptly expresses it, "The blow which proceeded from John Adams felled the proprietary⁴¹ authority in Pennsylvania and Maryland to the ground . . ."

On the evening of the very day on which Congress took this decisive action, Marshall, "Past seven, went and met a large number of persons at the Philosophical, by appointment (Col. McKean in the chair), where was debated the resolve of Congress . . ."

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On the 16th also, he went, "At four, to the Philosophical Hall, to meet a number of persons . . . It was concluded to call a convention with speed; to protest against the present Assembly's doing any business in their House until the sense of the Province was taken in that Convention to be called, &c., with the mode and manner of doing these several things by or on next Second Day."

The next day, John Adams writes to his wife: "I have this morning heard Mr. Duffield, upon the signs of the times. He ran a parallel between the case of Israel and that of America, and between the conduct of Pharaoh and that of George. Jealousy, that the Israelites would throw off the government of Egypt, made him issue his edict, that the midwives should cast the children into the river; and the other edict, that the men should make a large revenue of bricks without straw. He concluded that the course of events indicated strongly the design of Providence that we should be separated from Great Britain, &c." ⁴²

On the 18th, Marshall writes, "A request was brought to this Committee ⁴³, from a large company of the City and Liberties, that a general call be made of the inhabitants of the City and Liberties, to meet next Monday at nine o'clock forenoon at the State House, in order to take the sense of the people respecting the resolve of Congress of the Fifteenth instant, the which, after debate, was agreed to, only five dissenting voices."

The meeting occurred at the appointed time, in the State House yard, where, Marshall, who was present, tells us, "it was computed, Four thousand people were

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met, notwithstanding the rain, and then, sundry resolves were passed unanimously except one, and there was one dissenting voice, to wit, Isaac Gray. Near twelve, all was completed quietly and peaceably . . . Went to Committee Room at Philosophical Hall, where were confirmed the resolves at the State House, and directions, with proper persons appointed to go with the said resolves to the different counties."

On the very day of this meeting (May 20th), Gerry writes: "In this Colony (Pennsylvania) the spirit of the people is great, if a judgment is to be formed by appearances. They are well convinced of the injury their Assembly has done to the Continent, by their instructions⁴⁴ to their Delegates. It was these instructions which induced the Middle Colonies, and some of the Southern, to backward every measure which had the appearance of Independency. To them is owing the delay of Congress in agitating questions of the greatest importance, which long ere now must have terminated in a separation from Great Britain . . ."

Bartlett, in a letter to Langdon, speaks of the occasion thus: "[BT] May 21st yesterday the City met, agreeable to notification in the field before the State House, a stage being erected for the Moderator (Col. Roberdeau) and the Chief speakers M^r M^r Kean &c. — I am told they unanimously voted that the present House of Assembly are not Competent to Changing the form of gov^t and have given orders for Calling a Convention. Pennsylvania Assembly was to meet yesterday. I fear some Convulsions in the Colony, the *infamous* instructions given by the Assembly to their

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Delegates which they at their last meeting refused to alter is the Cause of their losing the Confidence of the people."

The Assembly had in fact met — "above stairs" in the building where Congress sat — on the 20th, and the protest⁴⁵ "of the inhabitants of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia, in behalf of ourselves and others" was presented to the Speaker on that day; but it was not read⁴⁶ in the Assembly until the 22d, and was then ordered to lie on the table.

This protest set forth that, as understood by Bartlett, the Assembly was not empowered to form a government and that an application would be made to the Committee of Inspection and Observation of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia to call a conference. Indeed, as we have seen, the conference had already been called when the protest was read.

The Assembly then adjourned to 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when they resolved that Andrew Allen, George Clymer, Alexander Wilcocks, Isaac Pearson and George Ross "be a committee to take into consideration the said Resolve of Congress, and the Preamble thereto; and to draw up a Memorial from this House . . . requesting an explanation, in such terms as will admit of no doubt, whether the Assemblies and Conventions now subsisting in the several Colonies are or are not the bodies to whom the consideration of continuing the old, or adopting new Governments, is referred . . ."

On the same day — and, as would seem⁴⁷, *before* the Assembly met at 3 o'clock and appointed this committee —, a number "of those called moderate men",

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as Marshall entitles them, prepared and began to circulate⁴⁸ a remonstrance against the protest, stating that the subscribers to the remonstrance had never authorized the protest and that the desires of the majority of the people did not justify it. This was not formally presented to the Assembly, however, as we shall see, until the 29th.

On the day following (the 23d), an address of the Committee of Inspection and Observation for the *County* of Philadelphia, signed by William Hamilton, as chairman, was presented to the Assembly and read. This asked "that you will most religiously adhere to the Instructions given to our Delegates in Congress."

The Committee of Inspection and Observation of the City and Liberties was at once aroused. On the 24th, they themselves determined⁴⁹ upon a memorial to Congress, which stated "That, in consequence of a request of a large majority of the inhabitants . . . of Philadelphia, on the 20th instant, the Committee have issued letters . . . for calling a conference of the Committees of the Province, in order to collect the sense of the inhabitants . . . That they have heard with great surprise that the Assembly . . . are about to present a Memorial to your honourable body, in consequence of a Remonstrance delivered to them . . . That the said Remonstrance has been obtained by unfair representations and indefatigable industry; and is signed chiefly by those people who hold Offices under the Crown . . . That . . . the present Assembly . . . was not chosen, nor is it invested with powers, to carry the said resolve [of Congress of May 15th] into execution. That a majority of the present

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Assembly do not possess the confidence of the people . . .” *This* memorial — signed by M:Kean, as chairman — was presented (to Congress) on the 25th.

Meanwhile, the Assembly, however, either knew not what to do or was unwilling to take any action whatever.⁵⁰ Nor did they act even on the 28th⁵¹, when⁵² the memorial of the Committee of Inspection and Observation of the City and Liberties to Congress was read, or when, later in the day, a petition from “a number of the freemen and inhabitants of the County of Cumberland, was presented to the House, and read,” but simply ordered them to lie on the table. The people of Cumberland County petitioned “this honourable House that the last Instructions which it gave to the Delegates . . . wherein they are enjoined not to consent to any step which may cause or lead to a separation from Great Britain, may be withdrawn.” Indeed, on the 29th (except to read the remonstrance — then presented — and to order it to lie on the table), 30th and 31st, nothing was done; and, on the 1st, 3d and 4th of June, there was no quorum.

On the 5th of June, however, the resolution of Virginia of May 15th was read⁵³; and then, at last, a committee — Dickinson, Robert Morris, Joseph Reed, Clymer, Wilcocks, Pearson and Thomas Smith — was appointed to prepare a draft of instructions to the Delegates in Congress. They reported, on the 6th, “an essay for the purpose; which was read by order, and referred to further consideration.” On the 7th⁵⁴, “the House resumed the consideration of the Instructions to the Delegates . . . And, after a debate of a consider-

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able length, adjourned to three o'clock in the afternoon." At the appointed time, they "resumed consideration of the Instructions, and, having made some progress therein, adjourned to nine o'clock tomorrow morning."⁵⁵

Maryland charged her Delegates, January 11th, that, "should any proposition be happily made by the Crown or Parliament, that may lead to or lay a rational and probable ground for reconciliation, you use your utmost endeavours to cultivate and improve it into a happy settlement and lasting amity . . . We further instruct you, that you do not, without the previous knowledge and approbation of the Convention . . . assent to any proposition to declare the Colonies independent . . . unless, in your judgments . . . it shall be thought absolutely necessary for the preservation of the liberties of the United Colonies; and should a majority of the Colonies in Congress, against such your judgment, resolve to declare these Colonies independent . . . then we instruct you immediately to call the Convention . . . and repair thereto with such proposition and resolve, and lay the same before the said Convention for their consideration; and this Convention will not hold this Province bound by such majority in Congress, until the Representative body of the Province, in Convention, assent thereto."

Nor was this enough. On the 18th, the Convention entered a declaration on their journal⁵⁶ wherein they avowed that they "never did, nor do entertain any views or desires of independency."

Indeed, as late as May 15th — the very day, as we

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have seen and shall more particularly see, when Virginia instructed her Delegates to propose to Congress to declare independence—, the Convention⁵⁷ (of Maryland) took into consideration a resolution (adopted on the 21st) which declared that “this Convention is firmly persuaded that a reunion with Great Britain on constitutional principles would most effectively secure the rights and liberties, and increase the strength and promote the happiness of the whole empire . . . the said Deputies are bound and directed to govern themselves by the instructions given to them by this convention in its session in December last, in the same manner as if the said instructions were particularly repeated.”

Of the same mind doubtless was the Council of Safety⁵⁸; for they say, in a letter to the Delegates, on June 8th — when they must have known of the resolution of Virginia: “[Md] The intelligence with regard to 7000 men rising and declaring for independence is without foundation; we take it to be news from some incendiary . . .”

A few of the leading men, however, of Maryland held different views or were wavering. On January 30th, Alexander writes, from Philadelphia to the Council of Safety: “[Md] the Instructions⁵⁹ of the Convention are come to Hand, but not as yet laid before Congress. I am much pleased with them, they entirely coincide with my Judgment & that Line of Conduct which I have determined to persue, the Farmer⁶⁰ and some others to whom in Confidence they were shewn, say they breath that Spirit, which ought to govern all publick Bodies, Firmness tempered with Moderation.” On February 27th,

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however, he writes from the same place to the same body :
“[Md] . . . with me every Idea of Reconciliation is precluded by the conduct of G. Britain, & the only alternative, absolute slavery or Independency, the latter I have often reprobated both in public & private, but am now almost convinced the Measure is right & can be justified by necessity.”⁶¹ Indeed, Chase writes, to John Adams from Saint Johns, April 20th : “[Qy] In my Judgment You have no alternative between Independancy and Slavery, and what American can hesitate in the Choice! but don’t harangue about it, act as if We were.” Stone writes, from Philadelphia to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, four days later : “[Md] M’ Johnson wrote to you yesterday . . . If the Commissioners⁶² do not arrive shortly and conduct themselves with great candor and uprightness to effect a reconciliation, a separation will most undoubtedly take place . . . I wish to conduct affairs so that a just & honorable reconciliation should take place, or that we should be pretty unanimous in a resolution to fight it out for Independance, the proper way to effect this is not to move too quick, but then we must take care to do every thing which is necessary for our Security and Defence, not suffer ourselves to be lulled or wheedled by any deceptions declarations or givings out. You know my hearty wishes for Peace upon terms of Security and Justice to America. But war, any thing is preferable to a surrender of our rights . . . I shall set out on Saturday or Sunday next to meet my wife.”

It also is interesting to note that *The Maryland Journal*, and the *Baltimore Advertiser*⁶³ contained, in its issue of

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May 22d (Ba), the following: "Serious QUESTIONS addressed to the advocates for DEPENDANCE upon the crown of Britain . . . Are not the advocates for INDEPENDANCE the only true friends to the principles of the British constitution? . . . Is not RECONCILIATION an untrodden path; for where can we find an instance of a people's returning to their allegiance to a tyrant, after he had violated every political and moral obligation to them? . . . Is not Independance a trodden path? Did not the United Provinces, and the Cantons of Switzerland, establish their liberty by declaring themselves INDEPENDANT, the one of the Court of Spain, the other of the House of Austria?"⁶⁴

"[QyC] In January⁶⁵ 1776," writes John Adams to John Taylor, April 9, 1814, "six months before the declaration of independence, M^r Wythe of Virginia passed an evening with me at my chambers. In the course of conversation upon the necessity of Independence M^r Withe, observ[ed] . . . that the greatest obstacle in the way of a declaration of it, was the difficulty of agreeing upon a government for our future regulation . . ." General Charles Lee writes, to Washington, from Stamford, on the 24th of the same month (January, 1776): "Have you seen the pamphlets *Common Sense*? I never saw such a masterly, irresistible performance. It will, if I mistake not, in concurrence with the transcendent folly and wickedness of the Ministry, give the coup-de-grace to Great Britain. In short, I own myself convinced, by the arguments, of the necessity of separation."

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On the 4th of February, Adam Stephen writes to R. H. Lee from Berkeley: "[M⁴] Indeed my affection is not only cooled, but I begin to be inveterate, and it is impossible that I can ever again have any attachment to the Mother Country." On the 16th, General Charles Lee writes from New York to Rush: "[BT] Your Common Sense is an admirable performance, but such is the timidity and nonsense of the greater part of the Community that I question much the effects were it not so happily seconded by the violence and insanity of the Ministry which must cram down your throats independence in spite of the squeamishness of your stomachs. It strikes me that reconciliation and return to your former state of dependence is as much a Chimera as an incorporation with the Mongolian Tartars—" On the 20th, a member of the Convention (of Virginia) says: "Some people among us seem alarmed at the name of Independence, while they support measures, and propose plans, that comprehend all the spirit of it . . . Whenever I have been an advocate for dependence, I have felt a conscious want of publick virtue . . ."

A letter from Williamsburg dated March 5th tells us: "The Tories and tools of Administration are constantly crying out that Congress is aiming at independence . . ."

On the 1st of April, Washington — still at Cambridge — writes, to Joseph Reed: "[Y] My countrymen I know, from their form of government, and steady attachment heretofore to royalty will come reluctantly into the idea of independence, but time and persecution bring many wonderful things to pass; and by private letters, which I

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have lately received from Virginia, I find 'Common Sense' is working a powerful change there in the minds of many men." On the 2d, John Lee writes from Essex City to R. H. Lee: "[M¹] *Independence* is now the topic here, and I think I am not mistaken when I say, it will (if not already) be very soon a *Favourite Child*." Three days later, General Charles Lee, now at Williamsburg, in a letter also to R. H. Lee, says: "[A] Pendleton is certainly naturally a Man of sense, but I can assure you that the other night in a conversation I had with him on the subject of independence He talkd or rather stammer'd nonsense that would have disgraced the lips of an old Midwife Drunk with bohea Tea and gin — Bland says that the Author of common sense is a blockhead and ignoramus for that He has grossly mistaken the nature of the Theocracy — If you could be spard from the Congress, Your presence might infuse vigor and wisdom [here] . . . for Gods sake why do you dandle in the Congress so strangely, why do you not at once declare yourselves a seperate independant State? . . . I wish you woud kuff Doctor Rush for not writing — I expect and insist upon it —" John Page writes from the same city to Jefferson on the same day: "[S] For God's sake declare the Colonies independant, at once, & save us from ruin —" He writes again on the 12th to R. H. Lee: "[M²] I think almost every man, except the Treasurer [Robert Carter Nicholas], is willing to declare for Independency . . . I would to God you could be here at its next Convention. It would be happy for us if you [the Delegates] could be all spared on that occasion; if you could, I make no doubt you

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might easily prevail in the Convention to declare for Independency, and to establish a form of Government." On the same day, "A. B."—also at Williamsburg—writes to Alexander Pardie: "The independence of the Colonies daily becomes more and more a topick of very anxious disquisition." A third letter of the 12th, from Petersburg, says: "In my way through Virginia, I found the inhabitants warm for independence⁶⁶ . . . indeed, I hear nothing praised but *Common Sense* and Independence."⁶⁷ On the 20th⁶⁸, William Aylett writes to R. H. Lee from King William: "[M³] The people of this County almost unanimously cry aloud for Independence." Two days later, John Augustine Washington writes to the same gentleman from "[M³] Liberty Hall": "I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 8th April . . . You mention that you have opened the ports to all the world but enemies, but that you are apprehensive this will not do without our promising our aid to any such power as should get involved in a war with Great Britain from attempting to trade with us. I am clearly of opinion that unless we declare openly for Independency there is no chance for foreign aid . . ."

We have also the action of the Committee of Charlotte County, on the 23d—a month before Boston instructed her representatives—, and that of the freeholders of James City, on the 24th. The former (the chairman and 15 members being present) instructed their Delegates to the Convention "to push to the utmost a war offensive and defensive, until you are certified that such proposals of peace are made to our General Congress as

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shall by them be judged just and friendly. And because the advantages of a trade will better enable us to pay the taxes, and procure the necessaries for carrying on a war, and in our present circumstances this cannot be had without a Declaration of Independence; therefore, if no such proposals of peace shall be made . . . we give it you in charge, to use your best endeavours that the Delegates which are sent to the General Congress be instructed immediately to cast off the British yoke . . .” The latter, coming together at Allen’s Ordinary, declared⁶⁹ to theirs⁷⁰ that they desired them, “(provided no just and honourable terms are offered by the king,) to exert your utmost abilities, in the next Convention, towards dissolving the connection between America and Great Britain, totally, finally, and irrevocably.”

Even more directly in line with the action soon to be taken by the Convention are the instructions of Buckingham County, though we do not know their⁷¹ date. These “recommend to, and instruct you, as far as your voices will contribute, to cause a total and final separation from Great Britain to take place as soon as possible; or, as we conceive this great point will not come within your immediate province, that, as far as in your power, you cause such instructions to be given to the Delegates from this Colony to the Continental Congress . . .”

The position of R. H. Lee — soon to be the mover of the resolution — and the position of Jefferson — soon to be the author of the Declaration — and the sentiments of the people of the “upper counties”, as well as the views of Francis Lightfoot Lee, a brother of R. H. Lee, are given later.⁷²

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The growth of the sentiment in Virginia was being felt even in Philadelphia. On May 1st, Gerry writes to Warren: "Virginia is always to be depended upon; and so fine a spirit prevails among them that, unless you send some of your cool patriots among them, they may be for declaring Independency before Congress is ready." On the 20th, he says: "I enclose you a Virginia paper, just come in, by which you will see the spirit of another County in that Colony, exhibited in their instructions for Independency."

Gerry's later letter (as well as the instructions just given) calls to mind, however, a communication from Landon Carter to Washington, dated "[S] Sabine Hall", May 9th: "I need only tell you of one definition that I heard of Independency; It was expected to be a form of Government, that by being independt of the rich men every man would then be able to do as he pleasd. And it was with this expectation they sent the men they did [to the Convention], in hopes they would plan such a form. One of the deligates I heard exclaim agst that Patrolling laws, because a poor man was made to pay for keeping a rich mans Slaves in order. I shamed the fool so much for that he slunk away; but he got elected by it. Another actually in a most seditious manner, resisted the draughting the militia by lot, to be ready for any immediate local emergency; and he got first returned that way. When we usd [to be] Legislators, such rascals would have been found out; but now, it is not to be supposd, that a dog will eat a dog. I know who I am writing to, and therefore I am not quite so confin'd in my expression, for a more decent language

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could not explain my meaning so well. And from hence it is that our independency is to arise! Papers it seems are every where circulating about for poor ignorant Creatures to sign, as directions to their delegates to endeavour at an independency. In vain do we ask to let it be explain'd what is design'd by it! If the form of government is to Preserve Justice, Order, Peace and freedom I believe there are few who would refuse; but when these only modes of Social happiness, are left so much concealed, or not toucht upon in the least, what sensible creatures ought to trust an ignorant representative to do what he pleases, under a notion of leaving his Constituents independant?"

Three days before (May 6th) this letter was written, "73 45 members of the House of Burgesses met at the Capitol 74 [in Williamsburg], pursuant to their last adjournment; but it being their opinion, that the people could not now be legally represented according to the ancient constitution, which has been subverted by the king, lords, and commons of Great Britain, and consequently dissolved, they unanimously dissolved themselves accordingly. The same day the General Convention of Delegates from the counties and corporations in this colony met at the Capitol . . . Edmund Pendleton was elected President."

Besides Pendleton, among those present were William Aylett, Bland, Archibald Cary, Dudley Digges, William Fleming, Henry, Richard Lee, Thomas Ludwell Lee, James Madison, George Mason, Nelson 75, Robert Carter Nicholas, Edmund Randolph, Meriwether Smith and John Augustine Washington. Page appeared on a committee on the 15th.

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On the 11th, John Augustine Washington writes, to R. H. Lee: "[M³] I hardly think that the grand question will come on before Tuesday next ⁷⁶, as this day will be chiefly taken up with the Norfolk business, and on Monday the House is generally thin. When it does there will be much altercation, but I believe no danger but that we shall determine upon taking up Government, but whether they may be so explicit as I could wish in their Instructions to our Delegates I cannot determine, but hope there is no great danger."

As he anticipated, the Convention, on the 14th, resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of the Colony.

Edmund Randolph writes: "When the disposition of the people as exhibited by their representatives could not be mistaken, Henry had full indulgence of his own private judgment⁷⁷, and he concerted⁷⁸ with Nelson that he (Nelson) should introduce⁷⁹ the question of independence, and that Henry should enforce it. Nelson affected nothing of oratory, except what ardent feelings might inspire, and characteristic of himself, he had no fears of his own with which to temporize, and supposing that others ought to have none, he passed over the probabilities of foreign aid, stepped lightly on the difficulties of procuring military stores and the inexperience of officers and soldiers, but pressed a declaration of independence, upon what with him were incontrovertible grounds; that we were oppressed, had humbly supplicated a redress of grievances which had been refused with insult; and that to return from battle against the sovereign with the cordiality of subjects was absurd. It was expected that a declaration

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of independence would certainly be passed, and for obvious reasons Mr. Henry seemed allotted to crown his political conduct with this supreme stroke. And yet for a considerable time he talked of the subject as being critical, but without committing himself by a pointed avowal in its favor or a pointed repudiation of it. He thought that a course which put at stake the lives and fortunes of the people should appear to be their own act, and that he ought not to place upon the responsibility of his eloquence, a revolution of which the people might be wearied after the present stimulus should cease to operate. But after some time he appeared in an element for which he was born. To cut the knot which calm prudence was puzzled to untie was worthy of the magnificence of his genius. He entered into no subtlety of reasoning, but was aroused by the now apparent spirit of the people. As a pillar of fire, which notwithstanding the darkness of the prospect would conduct to the promised land, he inflamed, and was followed by the convention.”⁸⁰

On the 15th, the committee of the whole, of which Cary was chairman, reported and the Convention (112 members being present) unanimously⁸¹ adopted a resolution⁸² which should immortalize the Colony:

Forasmuch as all the endeavours of the United Colonies, by the most decent representations and petitions to the King and Parliament of Great Britain, to restore peace and security to America under the British Government, and a reunion with that people upon just and liberal terms, instead of a redress of grievances, have produced, from an imperious and vindictive Administration, increased insult, oppression, and a vigorous attempt to

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effect our total destruction : — By a late act all these Colonies are declared to be in rebellion, and out of the protection of the British Crown, our properties subjected to confiscation, our people, when captivated, compelled to join in the murder and plunder of their relations and countrymen, and all former rapine and oppression of Americans declared legal and just ; fleets and armies are raised, and the aid of foreign troops engaged to assist these destructive purposes ; the King's representative in this Colony hath not only withheld all the power of Government from operating for our safety, but, having retired on board an armed ship, is carrying on a piratical and savage war against us, tempting our slaves by every artifice to resort to him, and training and employing them against their masters . . . In this state of extreme danger, we have no alternative left but an abject submission to the will of those overbearing tyrants, or a total separation from the Crown and Government of Great Britain, inviting and exerting all the strength of America for defence, and forming alliances with foreign Powers for commerce and aid in war . . . Wherefore, appealing to the Searcher of hearts for the sincerity of former declarations expressing our desire to preserve the connection with that nation, and that we are driven from that inclination by their wicked councils, and the eternal law of self-preservation :

That the Delegates appointed to represent this Colony in General Congress be instructed to propose to that respectable body to declare the United Colonies free and independent States, absolved from all allegiance to, or dependence upon, the Crown or Parliament of Great Britain ; and that they give the assent of this Colony to such declaration, and to whatever measures may be thought proper and necessary by the Congress for forming foreign alliances, and a Confederation of the Colonies, at such time and in the manner as to them shall seem best :

“⁸⁸ In consequence of the above resolution, universally

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regarded as the only door which will lead to safety and prosperity," says a newspaper report of the time, "some gentlemen made a handsome collection for the purpose of treating the soldiery, who next day were paraded in Waller's grove, before Brigadier-General Lewis, attended by the Committee of Safety, members of the General Convention, the inhabitants of this city, &c. &c. The resolution read aloud to the army, the following toasts were given, each of them accompanied by a discharge of the artillery and small arms, and the acclamations of all present. 1. *The American independent states.* 2. *The Grand Congress of the United States, and their respective legislatures.* 3. *General Washington, and victory to the American arms.* The UNION FLAG of the American states waived upon the Capitol during the whole of this ceremony, which being ended, the soldiers partook of the refreshment prepared for them by the affection of their countrymen, and the evening concluded with illuminations⁸⁴ and other demonstrations of joy; every one seemed pleased that the domination of Great Britain was now at an end . . ."

Nelson immediately left⁸⁵ for Philadelphia to lay the resolution before Congress⁸⁶, which was done, May 27th.

Washington was in Philadelphia at the time — having arrived at 2 o'clock on the afternoon of the 23d — and was delighted.⁸⁷

The progress of events in North Carolina is scarcely less interesting.

Hooper writes, to James Iredell from Philadelphia, January 6th: "[I] Yes, Britain, it is the criterion of

Virginia

The Convention May the 15th 1776

Resolved one hundred and twelve Members

Thatasmuch as all the inhabitants of the United Colonies by the most recent representations and petitions to the King and Parliament of Great Britain to redress their grievances to themselves without the British government at London were with that people upon just and liberal terms instead of a badge of servitude. Transported here an oppression and excessive administration exercised small oppression and a vigorous attempt to effect our total destruction. By which act all these colonies are declared to be in rebellion and out of the protection of the British crown. We therefore submit to consideration, we propose when captivated, we propose to join in the murder and plunder of their relations and countrymen, and all former crimes and oppression of ourselves declared legal and just. Effects and crimes and murders and the aid of foreign troops engaged to effect these destructive purposes. The design representations in this colony both not only and while all the powers of government have operated for our oppression but having introduced in London armed ships, we having engaged a privateer and a vessel was engaged in capturing and claiming by every artifice to want to limit and harassing and employing them against their enemies in the state of distress we regret we have no other nation left but our adjacent neighbors

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regarded as the only door which will lead to safety and prosperity," says a newspaper report of the time, "some gentlemen made a handsome collection for the purpose of treating the soldiery, who next day were paraded in Waller's grove, before Brigadier-General Lewis, attended by the Committee of Safety, members of the General Convention, the inhabitants of this city, &c. &c. The resolution read aloud to the army, the following toasts were given, each of them accompanied by a discharge of the artillery and small arms, and the acclamations of all present. 1. *The American independent states.* 2. *The Grand Congress of the United States, and their respective legislatures.* 3. *General Washington, and victory to the American arms.* The UNION FLAG of the American states waived upon the Capitol during the whole of this ceremony, which being ended, the soldiers partook of the refreshment prepared for them by the affection of their countrymen, and the evening concluded with illuminations⁸⁴ and other demonstrations of joy; every one seemed pleased that the domination of Great Britain was now at an end . . ."

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Hooper writes, to James Iredell from Philadelphia, January 6th: "[I] Yes, Britain, it is the criterion of

Virginia)

An Convention May the 15th 1796

Resolved one hundred and twelve Members

Notwithstanding all the endeavours of the United States for the most recent representations and petitions to the Congress and parliament of Great Britain to return persons and estates to America we declare that British government and ministers are with that people open just and liberal to our interests and rights of persons. Transgressions have in common and violations of ministerial execution executed with oppression and a vigorous attempt to effect our total destruction. By which act, all these colonies are declared to be in rebellion, out of the protection of the British crown and protection against to compensation, even fugitive stolen captives, compelled to join in the murders and plunders of their relations and countrymen, and all former covenants and covenants of benevolence declared legal and just. That our arms are carried and the acts of foreign troops engaged to effect the destruction of persons and property.

The design representations in this colony both not only with all the powers of government at home operations for our supply but having obtained board in armed ships, or carrying on our operations and engagements against our brethren, our slaves by every expedient to prevent the kind and bearing and multiplying them against their interests in this state of persons we expect we have no other nation left but our adjacent neighbours to the world of those over the great divide, in a total separation.

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regarded as the only door which will lead to safety and prosperity," says a newspaper report of the time, "some gentlemen made a handsome collection for the purpose of treating the soldiery, who next day were paraded in Waller's grove, before Brigadier-General Lewis, attended by the Committee of Safety, members of the General Convention, the inhabitants of this city, &c. &c. The resolution read aloud to the army, the following toasts were given, each of them accompanied by a discharge of the artillery and small arms, and the acclamations of all present. 1. *The American independent states.* 2. *The Grand Congress of the United States, and their respective legislatures.* 3. *General Washington, and victory to the American arms.* The UNION FLAG of the American states waived upon the Capitol during the whole of this ceremony, which being ended, the soldiers partook of the refreshment prepared for them by the affection of their countrymen, and the evening concluded with illuminations⁸⁴ and other demonstrations of joy; every one seemed pleased that the domination of Great Britain was now at an end . . ."

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The progress of events in North Carolina is scarcely less interesting.

Hooper writes, to James Iredell from Philadelphia, January 6th: "[I] Yes, Britain, it is the criterion of

Resolved The Convention May the 15th 1776
Resolved one hundred and twelve Members
of Massachusetts accept the independence of the United States
by the most recent representations sent petition to the Congress
and parliament of Great Britain to redress grievances and security
to America under the British government and to declare
with that people upon just and solid reasons: and to send
evidence of grace and benevolence.

Admission given by
the Convention of Virginia
to the 14th of July
and 27th 1776. —
May 13th 1776.

*We stand unanimously, that the delegates appointed to
represent their colony and General Congress be admitted by you
to that respectable body to declare the United Colonies free
and independent states, absolute from all allegiance to, or
dependence upon, the crown or parliament of Great Britain;
and that they give the assent of this colony to such
Declaration, and to whatever measures may be thought
proper and necessary by the Congress for carrying foreign
affairs and a correspondence of this colony at such time
and in such manner, as to them shall seem best & necessary;
That the power of foreign government for and the regulation
of the internal concerns of each colony be left to the
respective colonial legislatures.*

*We stand unanimously, that a committee be appointed
to prepare a Declaration of Rights, and such other
government as will be most likely to maintain peace and
order in this colony, and to be submitted and signed
by the people.*

Respectfully

John Pendleton

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thy existence ; thy greatness totters. Luxury and wealth, with every vice in their train, are hurrying thee down the precipice, and liberty shuddering at thy fate is seeking an asylum westward. Oh heaven ! still check her approaching ruin ; restore her to the affection of her American subjects. May she long flourish the guardian of freedom, and when that change comes, and come it must, that America must become the *seat* of empire, may Britain gently verge down the decline of life, and sink away in the arms of American sons."

Hewes writes, to Samuel Johnston from the same city, February 11th (and 13th) and 20th and March 1st: "[NC] Our friend Hooper has taken an opportunity when he could be best spared from Congress to fly to the Camp at Cambridge to see his Mother, who has lately got out of Boston, he has been gone about Ten days . . . Late last night I received a Letter from him dated New York the 6th; he seems greatly alarmed at the intelligence he had received there . . . The anxiety of my worthy friend for the safety, honour & happiness of our province and for his dearest connections there I imagine has induced him to paint things in the strongest colours to me . . . I have furnished myself with a good musket & Bayonet, and when I can no longer be usefull in Council I hope I shall be willing to take the field . . . The 13th . . . The only pamphlet⁸⁸ that has been published here for a long time I now send you ; it is a Curiosity ; we have not put up any to go by the Waggon, not knowing how you might relish independency. The author is not known ; some say Doctor Franklin had a hand in it, he denies it." "[N] This

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will be delivered to you by James Thompson and John Crowley who have charge of the Waggon, Horses and sundry Articles that make up the Load . . . I mentioned to you in my last ♡ express that we had not sent any copies of the Pamphlet entitled *Common Sense* but finding Brother Penn had a fondness for them have agreed some should be sent, the Council can Judge of the propriety of distributing them, let me know your opinion on that head, the Roads being very bad I was advised to put five horses to the Waggon I hope they will all be delivered safe to you . . . John Crowley who is the driver is recommended to me as a man very carefull of Horses and used to the business of driving a Waggon, he can neither read or write and his old master says should not be trusted with money, both the men are to have 3 s ♡ day and all expenses born, if they return here, pay them no more money than Just to bear their expenses, they are to be in pay till they arive here provided they come directly back[.]” “[NC] We shall send off another Waggon in a day or two with what Powder the new Waggon left, also drums & Colours for your third Regiment . . . N. B. The new Waggon went off eight days ago. I hear it is now no further than Wilmington. That one of the best Horses cut one of his hind feet very much with his shoe and cannot proceed. I have this day sent a carefull person down to purchase another Horse and bring the lame one back if it should be found necessary.”

On the day following the postscript to the first letter, Penn writes, also from Philadelphia, to Thomas Person: “[NC] The consequence of making alliances is perhaps

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a total separation with Britain and without something of that sort we may not be able to provide what is necessary for our defence. My first wish is that America may be free; the second that we may be restored to peace and harmony with Britain upon Just and proper terms. If you find it necessary that the convention should meet sooner than May let us know of it as I wish to return at that time. I have been very sick for two or three days but am getting well again . . . I send you a pamphlet called 'Common Sense,' published here abt a month ago."

Another letter of Hooper, written to Johnston, March 13th, after Hooper's return from Boston (to Philadelphia)⁸⁹, still more clearly outlines his position. It says: "I most earnestly wish peace and reconciliation upon terms honorable to America. Heaven forbid that I should submit to any other."

These letters, as appear, all were written at Philadelphia.

A little over a month later (April 15th), as shown by the proceedings of the Provincial Congress of North Carolina, sitting at Halifax, Hooper and Penn⁹⁰, "Delegates of the Continental Congress and Members of this House, appeared [there], subscribed the Test and took their seats."

On the 17th⁹¹ (of April), Penn writes (from Halifax), to John Adams: "[Qy] After a tedious Journey, occasion[ed] by bad roads and wet weather I arrived here in good health, as I came through Virginia I found the inhabitants desirous to be Independent from Britain . . . North Carolina by far exceeds them occasioned by the

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great fatigue trouble and danger the People here have undergone, for some time past . . . All regard or fondness for the King or the nation of Britain is gone, a total separation is what they want. Independance is the word most used . . . the Convention have tried to get the opinion of the People at large. I am told that in many Counties there were not one dissenting voice."

A similar statement is found in a letter from Thomas Ludwell Lee to R. H. Lee, dated Williamsburg, Va., four days earlier: "[M³] Gen. Howe, in a letter received yesterday from Halifax . . . says . . . 'Independence seems to be *the word*; I know not a dissenting voice.'"

Indeed, ten days before Hooper and Penn arrived at Halifax, Johnston writes from that place to Iredell, his brother-in-law: "[I] Our wagons arrived yesterday with about 2500 pounds of powder, and drums, and colors, for the troops. I have likewise a letter from Hewes of the 20th of last month, but no news except what you have in the newspapers. He seems in despair of a reconciliation; no Commissioners were appointed the 25th of December, and the Parliament was then prorogued to the 20th of January. *All our people here are up for independence*"; and, *three days before they arrived* (April 12th), the Provincial Congress, of which Johnston was President, resolved⁹²: "That the Delegates⁹³ . . . be empowered to concur with the Delegates of the other Colonies in declaring Independency . . ."

Johnston writes, again to Iredell, on the 13th: "[I] *The House, in consequence of some very important intelligence received last night, have agreed to empower their dele-*

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gates at Philadelphia to concur with the other Colonies in entering into foreign alliances, and an independence on Great Britain. I cannot be particular — this is wrote in [Provincial] Congress."

The new instructions were laid before Congress, *May 27th* — at the same time, as shown by the Journal, that the instructions (of *May 15th*) of Virginia were presented to that body.

It is interesting to note that Hewes had written, to Johnston, on the *16th* (of *May*): "[NC] I have had the honor to receive your several favours of the *10th*, *13th*, & *17th* ultimo enclosing sundry resolutions of your [Provincial] Congress. I took the earliest opportunity to lay those papers before Congress . . ."

Iredell, afterwards an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, however, under date of *June, 1776*, is said to have written a pamphlet which is believed to have circulated quite widely in manuscript form among the leading men of North Carolina and which said: "[I] I avoid the unhappy subject of the day, *independency*. There was a time very lately, within my recollection, when neither myself nor any person I knew, could hear the name but with horror. I know it is a favorite argument against us, and that on which the proceedings of Parliament are most plausibly founded, that this has been our aim since the beginning, and 'all other attempts were a cloak and disguise to this particular one. If this supposition had been well founded, and a desire of redressing the grievances we complained of had been entertained by government, they might immediately, by granting these, have detected and disap-

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pointed the other, or covered us with eternal disgrace, if we avowed it. But it is sufficient to say, our professions have been all solemnly to the contrary; we have never taken any one step which really indicated such a view; its suggestion has no more foundation than *mere suspicion*, which might countenance any falsehood whatever, and every man in America knows that this is one of the most egregious *falsehoods* ever any people were duped with. But so it was. This error they have been captivated with, and it has lead them, as well as us, to the brink of destruction. Its consequences are now only to be deplored, not, I fear, to be remedied. I may venture to say, the dread, or the pretended dread, of this evil, has almost produced it. The suspicion, though so ill founded, has been, previously, the parent of all the violent acts that now irritate the minds of the Americans. Some are inflamed enough to wish for independence, and all are reduced to so unhappy a condition as to dread at last that they shall be compelled in their own defence to embrace it. I confess myself of the latter number, in exclusion of the former. I am convinced America is in no such a situation as to entitle her to consider it as a just object of *ambition*, and I have no idea of people forming constitutions from *revenge*. A just and constitutional connection with Great Britain (if such could be obtained) I still think, in spite of every provocation, would be happier for America, for a considerable time to come, than *absolute independence*. No man can disdain, more than I do, the uniform and cruel violence of our oppressors' conduct. But I make a distinction between the ministry, and even the Parliament, and the people of

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England. These last I do not consider as accessory in all the oppressions we have sustained. Many, I have no doubt, are great criminals, but more, I am persuaded, are deceived by *false* and *wicked* information. Great things have been attempted in our defence. But the misfortune is, the *inadequacy of the representation*, and the *corruption so universal*, leave little to the real voice of the people. If it is said that these causes may always give us such a Ministry and Parliament, I answer, that I form no idea of any reconciliation but where we shall have *full security* that even these can do us no essential injury, unless we conspire to it ourselves. In political affairs we are not always at liberty to choose what is best in the *abstract*, but what may be found so in *practice*. I can see no establishment in America, no turn to its affairs, that is likely to arise of a happier nature than such a *re-union*. But if a re-union is not practicable but upon terms of dishonor, if one essential point is required as a sacrifice to obtain it, I should spurn at the idea as scandalous and disgraceful; and in such an event or on any occasion whatever, if *independency* should become necessary to our safety, I should not hesitate an instant in giving my assent to it."

The last instructions of the Provincial Congress⁹⁴ of South Carolina before the adoption of the Declaration are dated March 23d and declare: "That the Delegates⁹⁵ . . . or a majority of such of them as shall at any time be present in . . . Congress, or any one of the said Delegates, if no more than one shall be present, be . . . authorized, and empowered . . . to concert, agree to,

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and execute, every measure which they or he, together with a majority of the Continental Congress, shall judge necessary, for the defence, security, interest, or welfare of this Colony in particular, and of America in general."

These instructions, like those of Massachusetts, of course, *might* be construed to *imply* a power to join in a declaration of independence; but they — much less doubtless than those of the Commonwealth — evidently⁹⁶ were not so *intended* to be construed. Indeed, the government⁹⁷ formed a few days later was expressly declared to be formed to exist only "until an accommodation of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and America can be obtained, (an event which, though traduced and treated as Rebels, we still earnestly desire,)" ; and when, previously, on the 10th of February, Laurens, of the committee charged with drafting a proposed form of government, had made his report, a debate, says⁹⁸ John Drayton, had occurred as follows: "Col. Gadsden⁹⁹ ([having arrived from Philadelphia on the evening of the 8th and] having brought the first copy of Paine's pamphlet entitled '*Common Sense*,' &c.) boldly declared himself, not only in favour of the form of government; but, for the absolute Independence of America. This last sentiment, came like an explosion of thunder upon the members of Congress; as the resolution of the Continental Congress, upon which, the report for a form of government was grounded, had by no means led them to anticipate so decisive a step; neither had the majority of the members at that time, any thoughts of aspiring at independence. A distinguished member in particular,

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declared he abhorred the idea; and that he was willing to ride post, by day and night, to Philadelphia, in order to assist, in re-uniting Great Britain and America: and another called the author of Common Sense, —. Then the few, who wished for independence, thought Col. Gadsden imprudent in thus suddenly declaring for it; when, the house was unprepared for considering a matter of such great importance.”

Among the people at large, by April, however, there would seem to have been more than a few who favored independence; for, on April 12th, a gentleman writes from Petersburg, Va.: “I spent last evening with Mr. —, from South-Carolina. He tells me that the people there have no expectation of ever being reconciled with Britain again but only as a foreign State”: and we know that David Ramsay (evidently the historian), as early as February 14th, writes, from Charleston to Rush: “[Rid] Who is the author of common sense? I can scarce refrain from adoring the venerable man. He deserves a statue of Gold.”

Indeed, on April 23d — the day of the instructions of Charlotte County, Va. —, the Chief Justice, at the opening of the courts in Charleston, charged the grand jury thus: “The law of the land authorizes me to declare, and it is my duty to declare the law, that George the Third, king of Great Britain, has abdicated the government, that he has no authority over us, and we owe no obedience to him . . . True reconciliation never can exist between Great Britain and America, the latter being in subjection to the former. The Almighty created America to be independent of Britain; to refuse our

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labors in this divine work, is to refuse to be a great, a free, a pious, and a happy people!"

It was a declaration of independence!

Georgia instructed her Delegates¹⁰⁰, April 5th: "Our remote situation [impels us to] . . . decline giving any particular instructions . . . We . . . shall rely upon your patriotism, abilities, firmness, and integrity, to propose, join, and concur, in all such measures as you shall think calculated for the common good, and to oppose such as shall appear destructive."

#

Thus North Carolina was the first to authorize (April 12th) her Delegates "to concur with the Delegates of the other colonies in declaring *Independency*" — the word itself being used; and thus Virginia was the first to authorize (May 15th) her Delegates "to *propose* [to Congress] . . . to declare the United Colonies free and independent States . . ."

One of the strongest factors in bringing about the change of feeling in the Colonies was *Common Sense*.

John Adams, in his *Autobiography*¹⁰¹, under date of "September, 1775", says: "[J] In the course of this winter appeared a phenomenon in Philadelphia, a disastrous meteor, I mean Thomas Paine. He came from England, and got into such company as would converse with him, and ran about picking up what information he could concerning our affairs, and finding the great question was concerning independence, he gleaned from

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those he saw the common-place arguments, such as the necessity of independence some time or other; the peculiar fitness at this time; the justice of it; the provocation to it; our ability to maintain it, &c. &c. Dr. Rush put him upon writing on the subject, furnished him with the arguments which had been urged in Congress a hundred times, and gave him his title of 'Common Sense.' In the latter part of the winter, or early in the spring, he came out with his pamphlet. The arguments in favor of independence I liked very well . . . [They were] clearly written, and contained a tolerable summary of the arguments which I had been repeating again and again in Congress for nine months. But I am bold to say there is not a fact nor a reason stated in it, which had not been frequently urged in Congress¹⁰² . . . It has been a general opinion that this pamphlet was of great importance in the Revolution. I doubted it at the time, and have doubted it to this day. It probably converted some to the doctrine of independence, and gave others an excuse for declaring in favor of it.¹⁰³ But these would all have followed Congress with zeal¹⁰⁴; and on the other hand it excited many writers against it, particularly 'Plain Truth,' who contributed very largely to fortify and inflame the party against independence, and finally lost us the Allens, Penns, and many other persons of weight in the community . . ."

Bartlett writes to Langdon from Philadelphia, February 19, 1776: "[BT] The pamphlet *Common Sense* has already had three editions in this City; in the last there is an Appendix and large additions; it has also been reprinted at New York; by the best information it has

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had a great effect on the minds of many here and to the Southward[.]”

Common Sense says¹⁰⁶:

I challenge the warmest advocate for reconciliation, to show a single advantage that this continent can reap by being connected with Great Britain . . .

But the injuries and disadvantages we sustain by that connection are without number . . . It is the true interest of America to steer clear of European contentions, which she never can do while, by her dependance on Britain, she is made the make-weight in the scale of British politics.

. . . Everything that is right or natural pleads for separation. The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries, '*tis time to part* . . .

Though I would carefully avoid giving unnecessary offense, yet I am inclined to believe, that all those who espouse the doctrine of reconciliation may be included within the following descriptions:

Interested men, who are not to be trusted; weak men, who *cannot* see; prejudiced men, who *will not* see; and a certain set of moderate men who think better of the European world than it deserves; and this last class, by an ill-judged deliberation, will be the cause of more calamities to this continent than all the other three . . .

. . . bring the doctrine of reconciliation to the touchstone of nature, and then tell me whether you can hereafter love, honor, and faithfully serve the power that hath carried fire and sword into your land . . .

. . . Reconciliation is *now* a fallacious dream. Nature hath deserted the connection, and art cannot supply her place . . .

I am not induced by motives of pride, party, or resentment to espouse the doctrine of separation and independence; I am clearly, positively, and conscientiously persuaded that it is the

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true interest of this continent to be so; that everything short of *that* is mere patchwork; that it can afford no lasting felicity, — that it is leaving the sword to our children, and shrinking back at a time, when a little more, a little further, would have rendered this continent the glory of the earth . . .

. . . No man was a warmer wisher for reconciliation than myself before the fatal nineteenth of April, 1775 . . .

Ye that tell us of harmony and reconciliation, can ye restore to us the time that is passed? Can ye give to prostitution its former innocence? Neither can ye reconcile Britain and America. The last chord now is broken; the people of England are presenting addresses against us. There are injuries which nature cannot forgive; she would cease to be nature if she did. As well can the lover forgive the ravisher of his mistress . . .

Another very important factor was the Act¹⁰⁶ declaring the Colonists out of the King's protection.

As early as December 21, 1775, a gentleman, writing from London of this "bill which has now passed both Houses of Parliament, and will, in a few days, receive the royal assent," and which treated "the Colonies as enemies," says: "They cannot be enemies and subjects at the same time . . . The publick begins to conceive that these measures will sever America forever from this country. The Ministry are so conscious of it, that they have hired Dean Tucker to soften the business, by persuading the people that it will be no loss."

Francis Lightfoot Lee writes, from Philadelphia to "¹⁰⁷ my dear friend" Landon Carter, "Favor'd by Mr Howe", March 18th (1776): "Before this I suppose you have recd a copy of Common sense which I sent you

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some time ago, if not I now send a parcel to Col Taylor of whome you may have one Our late King & his Parliament having declared us Rebels & Enemies confiscated our property as far as they were likely to lay hands on it have effectually decided the question for us, whether or no we shall be independent all we have now to do is to endeavour to reconcile ourselves to the state it has pleased Providence to put us into and indeed upon taking a near & full look at the thing it does not frighten so much as when viewd at a distance. I cant think we shall be injured by having a free trade with all the world instead of its being confined to one place whose wriches might allways be used to our ruin nor does it appear to me that we shall suffer any disadvantage by having our Legislatures uncontroled by a power so far removed from us that our circumstances cant be known whose interests is often directly contrary to ours and over which we have no manner of controul indeed great part of that power being at present lodged in the hands of a most gracious Prince whose tender mercies we have often experienced; it must wring the heart of all good men to part but I hope we shall have Christian fortitude enough to bear with partience & even cheerfullness the decrees of a really most gracious King. The danger of Anarchy & confusion I think altogether Chimerical the good behavious of the Americans with no Governmt at all proves them very capable of good Government. But my dear Col. I am so fond of peace that I wish to see an end of these distractions upon terms that will secure America from future outrages but from all our intelligence I really despair. There is such an inveteracy in

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the — — — — & his advisers that we need not expect any other alternative than slavery or seperation is it not prudent therefore to fit our minds to the state that is inevitable. Virginia it seems is considered at home as most liable to deception & seduction & therefore the Comissioners are to bend their chief force that way backed by a considerable detachment of the Army. I hope it will turn to the honor of my Country as it will afford a opportunity for showing their Virtue & good sense. Col Taylor has news — I wrote yesterday to my friend Col R Carter . . . Genl Lee who has the Southern Command . . . [has] some thought of passing thro Richmond. best respects to Sabin Hall[.]”

John Adams, in a letter to Gates, dated Philadephia, March 23d, writes: “[NY] I know not whether you have seen the Act of Parliament call’d the restraining Act, or prohibitory Act, or piratical Act, or plundering Act, or Act of Independency, for by all these titles is it called. — I think the most apposite is the Act of Independency, for King Lords and Commons have united in sundering this Country and that I think forever. — It is a compleat Dismemberment of the British Empire. — It throws thirteen Colonies out of the Royal Protection, levels all Distinctions and makes us independent in Spight of all our Supplications and Entreaties. — It may be fortunate that the Act of Independency should come from the British Parliament, rather than the American Congress: But it is very odd that Americans should hesitate at accepting such a Gift from them — However, my dear Friend Gates, all our Misfortunes arise from a single Source, the Reluc-

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tance of the southern Colonies to Republican Government . . . each Colony should establish its own Government, and then a League should be formed, between them all."

Indeed, so strong was the feeling in the Colonies following and because of this Act that the promised coming of the so-called "peace commissioners", with the hope of probable reconciliation thus held out¹⁰⁸, was all that deterred very many from taking a bold stand for an immediate declaration.

Joseph Reed writes, from Philadelphia to Washington, March 3d : "[U] . . . there is a strange reluctance in the minds of many to cut the knot which ties us to Great Britain, particularly in this colony and to the southward. Though no man of understanding expects any good from the commissioners, yet they are for waiting to hear their proposals before they declare off", and, March 15th : "[S] We every Moment expect to hear of these Gentrys Arrival . . . A little Time will show what we are to expect from the new Project. In my Part I can see nothing to be hoped from it¹⁰⁹ but it has laid fast hold of some here & made its Impression on the Congress. It is said the Virginians are so alarmed with the Idea of Independence that they have sent M^r Braxton [He arrived, February 23d] on Purpose to turn the Vote of that Colony, if any Question on that Subject should come before Congress. To tell you the Truth my dear Sir, I am infinitely more afraid of these Commissioners than their Generals & Armies—If their Propositions are plausible & Behaviour artful I am apprehensive they will divide us—There is so much

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Suspicion in Congress & so much Party on this Subject, that very little more Fuel is required to kindle the Flame. It is high Time for the Colonies to begin a gradual Change of Delegates — private Pique, Prejudice & Suspicion will make its Way into the Breasts of even good Men sitting long in such a Council as ours, & whenever that is the Case their Deliberations will be disturbed & the publick Interest of course suffer . . . M^r Deane of Connecticut is gone to Europe his Errand may be guessed tho little is said about it.— ”

Duane writes, to R. R. Livingston from Philadelphia, March 20th: “[BT] . . . my friend Chase . . . has promised me to call on you at Clermount. He will with pleasure communicate every thing worth your knowledge. You will find that his usual warmth is not abated and that though closely attached to his friends he still keeps the start of them in his political system. The social intercourse which was formed amongst the Delegates of the five middle Colonies and North Carolina has suffered no diminution, and I am persuaded they would all combine to give you pleasure . . . When I first wrote to you I expected soon to have visited my family a happiness of which I have too long been deprived! But such is the critical state of my dear native country, and so slender has been our own representation that I could not reconcile it to my ideas of the important trust of which I partake. Whether we shall be reconciled to Great Britain or separated from her perhaps forever? is a question which a few weeks may probably decide; and on which the happiness of millions may depend. I wish for peace if it can be accompanied by

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liberty and safety. I expect little from the justice and less from the generosity of administration ; but I am not without hopes that the interest of Great Britain will compel her ministers to offer us reasonable terms. I am unwilling that while Commissioners are daily looked for, we should by any irrevocable measure tie up our hands, and put it out of our power to terminate this destructive war. I do not think this line of conduct incompatible with the most vigorous efforts for our defence in the ensuing campaign.—I believe it to be agreeable to the sense of our constituents which would alone be decisive with me.—under these impressions, I wait for the expected propositions with painful anxiety. If they should prove oppressive or frivolous we will be at no loss to form a judgment of the consequences.”

The effect upon Robert Morris is shown by a letter from him of¹¹⁰ April 6th, from Philadelphia to Gates : “[NY] Where the plague are these Commissioners, if they are to come what is it that detains them ; It is time we shou’d be on a Certainty & know positively whether the Libertys of America can be established & secured by reconciliation, or whether we must totally renounce Connection with Great Britain & fight our way to a total Independance. Whilst we Continue thus firmly United amongst ourselves theres no doubt but either of these points may be carried, but it seems to me, We shall quarrell about which of these roads is best to pursue unless the Commissioners appear soon and lead us into the first path, therefore I wish them to come, dreading nothing so much as even an appearance of division amongst ourselves —”

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We have already¹¹¹ seen a letter from Stone, of April 24th.

Meanwhile, as already shown by Reed's letter, the struggle in Congress had become more bitter: so much so that it extended to the different members of a delegation.

John Adams, in his *Autobiography*, under date of February 29th, says: "[J] . . . [Harrison] seemed to be set up in opposition to Mr. Richard Henry Lee. Jealousies and divisions appeared among the delegates of no State more remarkably than among those of Virginia . . . I asked the reason; for Mr. Lee appeared a scholar, a gentleman, a man of uncommon eloquence, and an agreeable man. Mr. Wythe said . . . this was all true, but Mr. Lee had, when he was very young, and when he first came into the House of Burgesses, moved and urged on an inquiry into the state of the treasury, which was found deficient in large sums, which had been lent by the treasurer to many of the most influential families of the country, who found themselves exposed, and had never forgiven Mr. Lee . . . These feelings among the Virginia delegates were a great injury to us. Mr. Samuel Adams and myself were very intimate with Mr. Lee, and he agreed perfectly with us in the great system of our policy, and by his means we kept a majority of the delegates of Virginia with us. But Harrison, Pendleton¹¹², and some others showed their jealousy of this intimacy plainly enough at times. Harrison consequently courted Mr. Hancock and some other of our colleagues, but we had now a majority¹¹³, and gave ourselves no trouble¹¹⁴ about their little intrigues."

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He tells us (in his *Autobiography*) also that he had been appointed (October 28, 1775) Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Judicature of his Colony and: "[J] I soon found [after the return to Congress on February 9, 1776], there was a whispering among the partisans in opposition to independence, that I was interested; that I held an office under the new government of Massachusetts; that I was afraid of losing it, if we did not declare independence; and that I consequently ought not to be attended to. This they circulated so successfully, that they got it insinuated among the members of the legislature in Maryland, where their friends were powerful enough to give an instruction to their delegates in Congress, warning them against listening to the advice of interested persons, and manifestly pointing me out to the understanding of every one¹¹⁶ . . . These chuckles I was informed of, and witnessed for many weeks, and at length they broke out in a very extraordinary manner. When I had been speaking one day on the subject of independence, or the institution of governments, which I always considered as the same thing, a gentleman of great fortune and high rank rose and said, he should move, that no person who held any office under a new government should be admitted to vote on any such question, as they were interested persons . . . I rose from my seat with great coolness and deliberation . . . and said: ' . . . I will second the gentleman's motion, and I recommend it to the honorable gentleman to second another which I should make, namely, that no gentleman who holds any office under the old or present government should be admitted to



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vote on any such question, as they are interested persons.' The moment when this was pronounced, it flew like an electric stroke through every countenance in the room, for the gentleman who made the motion held as high an office under the old government as I did under the new, and many other members present held offices under the royal government . . . This whole scene was a comedy to Charles Thomson, whose countenance was in raptures all the time. When all was over, he told me he had been highly delighted with it, because he had been witness to many of their conversations, in which they had endeavored to excite and propagate prejudices against me . . ."

He says that in May there were continued altercations in Congress over General Wooster, Commodore Hopkins and a Mr. Wrixon and that "[J] These three consumed an immense quantity of time, and kept up the passions of the parties to a great height. One design was to divert us from our main object."

The "main object" was a declaration of independence or its equivalent.

As early as January 9th, as shown by the *Diary* of Richard Smith: "Wilson moved and was strongly supported that the Congress may expressly declare to their Constituents and the World their present Intentions respecting an Independency, observing that the Kings Speech directly charged Us with that Design, he was opposed but Friday was fixed for going into that Affair. Several Members said that if a Foreign Force shall be sent here, they are willing to declare the Colonies in a State of Independent Sovereignty."

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Of this motion, Samuel Adams writes, to John Adams, who, as we have seen, was then on leave of absence: “[SA] The Motion alarmd me—I thought Congress had already been explicit enough and was apprehensive that we might get ourselves on dangerous Ground—Some of us prevaild so far as to have the Matter postpond, but could not prevent the assigning a Day to consider it—I may perhaps have been wrong in opposing this Motion, and I ought the rather to suspect it, because the Majority of your Colony as well as of the Congress were of a different Mind[.]”

The *Diary* of Richard Smith shows also (under the following dates): “[January 24th] most of the Day was spent on a Proposal to address the People of America our Constituents deducing the Controversy ab Initio and informing them of our Transactions and of the present State of Affairs, much was said about Independency and the Mode and Propriety of stating our Dependance on the King, a Com^{ee} was appointed to draw the Address.” “[February 13th] Wilson brought in the Draught of an Address to our Constituents which was very long, badly written and full against Independency[.]” “[February 16th] Wyth also offered Propositions whereof the first was that the Colonies have a Right to contract Alliances with Foreign Powers, an Objection being offered that this was Independency there ensued much Argument upon that Ground . . .” “[February 21st] W^m Livingston moved that the Thanks of the Congress be given to D^r Smith for his Oration on Gen. Montgomery and that he be desired to make it public, this was objected to for several Reasons the chief was that the D^r declared the

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Sentiments of the Congress to continue in a Dependency on G Britain which Doctrine this Congress cannot now approve, Principal Speakers for the Motion Duane, Wilson, Willing, against it Chase, John Adams, Wyth E Rutledge, Wolcott, Sherman at length M^r Livingston withdrew his Motion." "[February 29th] 4 Hours were spent in Grand Com^{ee} on Trade without any Conclusion . . . the Points now agitated were the Expediency and Probability of contracting foreign Commercial Alliances and chiefly with France and Spain, and the Advantages and Disadvantages of attempting to carry on Trade in our present Circumstances, much was said about declaring our Independency on G Britain when it appeared that 5 or 6 Colonies have instructed their Delegates not to agree to an Independency till they, the Principals are consulted . . ."

Wythe, during the discussions, sometime before March 1st, as shown by John Adams' *debates*, declared: "[J] If we should offer our trade to the Court of France, would they take notice of it any more than if Bristol or Liverpool should offer theirs, while we profess to be subjects? No. We must declare ourselves a free people."

Reed writes, from Philadelphia, to Pettit, March 3d: "[U] I look upon separation from the Mother Country as a certain event, though we are not yet so familiarized to the idea as thoroughly to approve it . . . The Congress are paving the way to a Declaration of Independence, but I believe will not make it until the minds of the people are better prepared for it than as yet they are."

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The important entries on the subject in the *Diary* of Richard Smith during this month are as follows: "[March 9th] Instruc[tions for the Commissioners] going to Canada . . . took up 3 or 4 Hours . . . that Part recommend'g to them [to] form a Constitution and Governm't for themselves without Limitation [of] Time which Jay and others said was an Independency and there was much Argum't on this Ground[.]" "[March 22d] Wyth reported the Preamble about Privateering, he and Lee moved an Amend't wherein the King was made the Author of our Miseries instead of the Ministry, it was opposed on Supposition that this was effectually severing the King from Us forever and ably debated for 4 Hours when Maryland interposed its Veto and put it off till Tomorrow, Chief Speakers for the Amend't Lee, Chase, Sergeant, Harrison, against it Jay, Wilson, Johnson."

On the 23d (of March), John Adams, in his letter to Gates, writes: "[NY] I agree with you, that in Politicks the Middle Way is none at all . . . We have hitherto conducted half a War, acted upon the Line of Defence &c &c — But you will see by tomorrows Paper, that for the future We are likely to wage three Quarters of a War. — The Continental Ships of War, and Provincial Ships of War, and Letters of Mark and Privateers are permitted to cruise upon British Property, wherever found on the Ocean. This is not Independency you know, nothing like it. If a Post or two more, should bring you unlimited latitude of Trade to all Nations, and a polite Invitation to all nations, to trade with you, take care that you dont call it, or think it Independency.

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No such Matter — Independency is an Hobgoblin, of so frightfull Mein, that it would throw a delicate Person into Fits to look it in the Face."

On April 12th, he sends an epistle to his wife in which we read: "[J] The ports are opened wide enough at last, and privateers are allowed to prey upon British trade. This is not independency, you know. What is? Why, government in every colony, a confederation among them all, and treaties with foreign nations to acknowledge us a sovereign State, and all that."

A letter from him dated two days later¹¹⁶ says: "As to declarations of independency, be patient. Read our privateering laws and our commercial laws. What signifies a word?"

Had the telegraph then threaded the country as now, he would already have known, by the morning of the 13th, that, while he was writing his wife, North Carolina was, as we have seen, empowering her "Delegates . . . to concur with the Delegates of the other Colonies in declaring *Independency* . . ."

Less than a month later (May 10th), Congress took into consideration and adopted a resolution "[J] brought before the Committee of the whole house, in concert between" R. H. Lee and John Adams, which the latter considered "[J] an epocha, a decisive event."¹¹⁷

The words of the resolution, as given in the Journal, were: "That it be recommended to the respective Assemblies and conventions of the united colonies where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs have been hitherto established to adopt such government as shall in the opinion of the representatives of the

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people best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular and America in general."

John Adams, Edward Rutledge and R. H. Lee were chosen¹¹⁸ a committee to prepare a preamble. Their report was agreed to on the 15th, and it was then ordered that both the resolution and the preamble be published. The preamble, as shown by the Journal, declared: "Whereas his Britannic Majesty in conjunction with the lords and commons of great Britain has by a late act of Parliament excluded the inhabitants of these united colonies from the protection of his crown And whereas no answer whatever to the humble petitions of the colonies for redress of grievances & reconciliation with great Britain has been or is likely to be given . . . And whereas . . . it is necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority under the said crown should be totally suppressed . . ." ¹¹⁹

Two days later, John Adams writes to his wife: "When I consider the great events which are passed, and those greater which are rapidly advancing, and that I may have been instrumental in touching some springs and turning some small wheels, which have had and will have *such* effects, I feel an awe upon my mind which is not easily described. Great Britain has at last driven America to the last step: a complete separation from her; a total, absolute independence, not only of her Parliament, but of her Crown, for such is the amount of the resolve of the 15th." ¹²⁰ In his *Autobiography*, he says: "[J] Mr. Duane¹²¹ called it to me, a machine for the fabrication of independence. I said, smiling, I thought it was independence itself¹²², but we must have

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it with more formality yet." "[J] It was indeed, on all hands, considered by men of understanding as equivalent to a declaration of independence, though a formal declaration of it was still opposed by Mr. Dickinson and his party."

Gerry, on the 20th, says, to Warren: "It appears to me that the eyes of every unbeliever are now open; that all are sensible of the perfidy of Great Britain, and are convinced there is no medium between unqualified submission and actual Independency. The Colonies are determined on the latter. A final declaration is approaching with great rapidity. Amidst all our difficulties, you would be highly diverted to see the situation of our 'moderate gentlemen.' . . . They are coming over to us . . ." ¹²³

Indeed, while these letters were travelling northward, Nelson, as we have seen, was on his way to Philadelphia with the resolution of the Convention of Virginia instructing her Delegates to *propose* to Congress to declare independence. These instructions, as well as those of North Carolina, as we have seen, were laid before Congress on the 27th.

On the 31st, Gerry writes to Joseph Palmer: "[NE] The Conviction which y^e late Measures of Administration have brot to y^e Minds of doubting Persons has such an Effect, that I think y^e Colonies cannot long remain an independent depending People, but that they will declare themselves as their Interest & Safety have long required, entirely separated from y^e prostituted Government of G Britain. Upon this Subject I have wrote to our Friend Col: Orne & beg leave to refer you thereto—

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The principal object of our attention at this important Time I think should be y^e Manufacturing Arms, Lead & Cloathing, & obtaining Flints, for I suppose since y^e Measures adopted by North Carolina and Virginia that there cannot remain a Doubt with our Assembly of y^e propriety of declaring for Independency and therefore that our Tho'ts will be mostly directed to y^e Means for supporting it."

John Adams also ¹²⁴ felt at once that the goal was near.¹²⁵ "[J] It has ever appeared to me", he writes ¹²⁶ to Henry, June 3d, "that the natural course and order of things was this; for every colony to institute a government; for all the colonies to confederate, and define the limits of the continental Constitution; then to declare the colonies a sovereign state, or a number of confederated states; and last of all, to form treaties with foreign powers. But I fear we cannot proceed systematically, and that we shall be obliged to declare ourselves independent States, before we confederate, and indeed before all the colonies have established their governments. It is now pretty clear that all these measures will follow one another in a rapid succession, and it may not perhaps be of much importance which is done first."

Resolved

~~That~~

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That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

That it is expedient forthwith to take the most effectual measures for forming foreign alliances.

That a plan of confederation be prepared and transmitted to the respective Colonies for their consideration and approbation.

Resolutions of June 7th, in the handwriting of Richard Henry Lee, now in the Library of Congress, in Washington. They were offered by him and seconded by John Adams.

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IV

INITIAL STEPS

THE initial action in Congress regarding a declaration of independence was taken, Friday, June 7th. The following is the entry in the Journal¹, in the handwriting of Charles Thomson, the Secretary :

Certain resolutions² being moved & seconded
Resolved That the consideration of them be referred till to morrow morning & that the members be enjoined to attend punctually at 10 °clock in order to take the same into consideration.

These " Certain resolutions " ³ were as follows :

[S] Resolved

That ^{the good people of [T]} these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

That it is expedient forthwith to take the most effectual measures for forming foreign Alliances.

That a plan of confederation be prepared and transmitted to the respective Colonies for their consideration and approbation.

They were offered by Richard Henry Lee⁴ and seconded by John Adams.

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We find an interesting comment in Adams' *Autobiography*: "[J] It will naturally be inquired why⁵ these resolutions, and the names of the gentlemen who moved and seconded them, were not inserted on the Journals. To this question, I can give no other answer than this. Mr. Hancock was President, Mr. Harrison, chairman of the committee of the whole house, Mr. Thomson⁶, the secretary, was cousin to Mr. Dickinson, and Mr. R. H. Lee and Mr. John Adams were no favorites of either."

The first resolution was offered — primarily, at least⁷ — in direct conformity to the resolution of the Convention of Virginia of May 15th: "That the Delegates appointed to represent this Colony in General Congress be instructed to propose to that respectable body, to declare the United Colonies free and independent States"; and Jefferson is reported⁸ as saying: "Richard H. Lee moved . . . [it] only⁹ because he was the oldest member of the Virginia delegation."

On June 8th (Saturday), as shown by the Journal, The Congress took into consideration the resolutions moved yesterday,
Resolved That they be referred to a committee of the whole Whereupon The Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take into considerations the resolutions referred to them and after some time spent thereon the president resumed the chair and M^r Harrison reported that the Committee have taken into consideration¹⁰ the matter to them referred but not having come to any resolution thereon desired leave to sit again on monday next.

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Resolved That this ^{at 10 o'clock.} ¹¹ Congress will on Monday next resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into their farther consideration the the resolutions referred to them.—

Jefferson, in his *notes* ¹², gives us the following account of the debate ¹³ in the committee of the whole on this day (and on Monday, the 10th):

It was argued by ¹⁴ Wilson, Robert R. Livingston, ~~the two~~ ^{E¹⁵} Rutleges ¹⁶, Dickinson ¹⁷ and others ¹⁸

That tho' they were friends to the measures themselves, and saw the impossibility that we should ever again be united with Gr-Britain, yet they were against adopting them at this ¹⁹ time:

That the conduct we had formerly observed was wise & proper now, of deferring to take any capital step till the voice of the people drove us into it:

That they were our power, & without them our declarations could not be carried into effect:

That the people of the middle colonies (~~Pennsylvania~~, Maryland, ~~Del.~~ ²⁰ Delaware, Pennsylv, the Jersies & N. York) were not yet ripe for bidding adieu to British connection, but that they were fast ripening, & in a short time would join in the general voice of America:

That the resolution entered into by this house on the 15th of May for suppressing the exercise of all powers derived from the crown, had shown, by the ferment into which it had thrown these middle colonies, that they had not yet accommodated their minds to a separation from the mother country:

That some of them had expressly forbidden their delegates to consent to such a declaration, and others had given no instructions, & consequently no

[The following is on the reverse side of page 1:]

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powers to give such assent :

That if the delegates of any particular colony had no power to declare such colony independant, certain they were the others could not declare it for them ; the colonies being as yet perfectly independant of each other :

That the assembly of Pennsylvania was now sitting above stairs, their convention would sit within a few days, the convention of New York was now sitting, & those of the Jersies & Delaware counties would meet on the Monday following & it was probable these bodies would take up the question of Independance & would declare to their delegates the voice of their state :

That if such a declaration should now be agreed to, these delegates must ~~now~~²¹ retire, & possibly their colonies might secede from the Union :

That such a secession would weaken us more than could be compensated by any foreign alliance :

That in the event of such a division, foreign powers would either refuse to join themselves to our fortune, or having us so much in their power as that desperate declaration would place us, they would insist on terms proportionally more hard & prejudicial :

That we had little reason to expect an alliance with those to whom alone as yet we had cast our eyes :

That France & Spain had reason to be jealous of that rising power which would one day certainly strip them of all their American possessions :

That it was more likely they should form a connection with the British court, who, if they should find themselves unable otherwise to extricate themselves from their difficulties, would agree to a partition of our territories, restoring Canada to France, & the Floridas to Spain, to accomplish for themselves a recovery of these colonies :

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That it would not be long before we should receive certain information of the disposition of the French court, from the agent whom we had sent to Paris for that purpose :

That if this disposition should be favourable, by waiting the event of ^{the present} ~~another~~ campaign, which we all hoped would be ^{successful} ~~favourable~~, we should have reason to expect an alliance on better terms :

That this would in fact work no delay of any effectual aid from such

3.
ally, as, from the advance of the season & distance of our situation, it was impossible we could receive any assistance during this campaign :

That it was prudent to fix among ourselves the terms on which we would form alliance, before we declared we would form one at all events :

And that if these were agreed on, & our Declaration of Independance ready by the time our Ambassadour should be prepared to sail, it would be as well, as to go into that Declaration at this day.

On the other side it was urged by J. Adams ²³, [R. H.] Lee ²³ ²⁴, Wythe and others ²⁵.

That no gentleman had argued against the policy or the right of separation from Britain, nor had supposed it possible we should ever renew our connection: that they ^{had} ²⁶ only opposed it's being now declared :

That the question was not whether, by a declaration of independance, we should make ourselves what we are not; but whether we should declare a fact which already exists: ²⁷

That as to the people or parliament of England, we had always been independant of them, their restraints on our trade deriving efficacy from our acquiescence only, & not from any rights they

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possessed of imposing them, & that so far our connection had been federal only & was now dissolved by the commencement of hostilities :

That as to the king, we had been bound to him by allegiance, but that this bond was now dissolved by his assent to the late act of parliament, by which he declares us out of his protection, and by his levying war on us, a fact which had long ago proved us out of his protection ; it being a certain position in law that allegiance & protection are reciprocal, the one ceasing when the other is withdrawn :

That James the II^d never declared the people of England out of his protection yet his actions proved it & the parliament declared it :

No delegates then can be denied, or ever want, a power of declaring an existing truth :

That the Delegates from the Delaware counties having declared their constituents ready²⁸ to join, there are only²⁹ two colonies, Pennsylvania & Maryland whose delegates are absolutely tied up, and that these had by their instructions only reserved a right of confirming or rejecting the measure :

[The following is on the reverse side of page 3 :]

4-

That the instructions from Pennsylvania might be accounted for from the times in which they were drawn, near a twelve-month ago, since which the face of affairs has totally changed :

That within that time it had become apparent that Britain was determined to accept nothing less than a carte blanche, and that the king's answer to the Lord Mayor Aldermen & common council of London, which had come to hand four days ago, must have satisfied everyone of this point :

That the people wait for us to lead the way : ~~in this~~ = ⁸⁰

That they are in favour of the measure, tho' the instructions given by some of their representatives are not :

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That the voice of the representatives is not always consonant ^{with} ~~to~~ the voice of the people, and that this is remarkably the case in these middle colonies :

That the effect of the resolution of the 15th of May has proved this, which, raising the murmurs of some in the colonies of Pennsylvania & Maryland, called forth the opposing voice of the freer part of the people, & proved them to be the majority, even in these colonies :

That the backwardness of these two colonies might be ascribed partly to the influence of proprietary power & connections, & partly to their having not yet been attacked by the enemy :

That these causes were not likely to be soon removed, as there seemed no probability that the enemy would make either of these the seat of this summer's war :

That it would be vain to wait either weeks or months for perfect unanimity, since it was impossible that all men should ever become of one sentiment on any question :

That the conduct of some colonies from the beginning of this contest, had given reason to suspect it was their settled policy to keep in the rear of the confederacy, that their particular prospect might be better even in the worst event :

That therefore it was necessary for those colonies who had thrown themselves forward & hazarded all from the beginning, to come forward now also, and put all again to their own hazard :

That the history of the Dutch revolution, of whom three states only confe-

5.
derated at first proved that a secession of some colonies would not be so dangerous as some apprehended :

That a declaration of Independance alone could render it consistent with European delicacy ^{as} for European powers to treat with us, or even to receive an Ambassador from us :

That till this they would not receive our vessels into their ports,

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nor acknowledge the adjudications of our courts of Admiralty to be legitimate, in cases of capture of British vessels :

That tho' France & Spain may be jealous of our rising power, they must think it will be much more formidable with the addition of Great Britain ; and will therefore see it their interest⁸⁸ to prevent a coalition ; but should they refuse, we shall be but where we are ; whereas without trying we shall never know whether they will aid us or not :

That the present campaign may be unsuccessful, & therefore we had better propose an alliance while our affairs wear a hopeful aspect :

That to wait the event of this campaign will certainly work delay, because during the summer France may assist us effectually by cutting off those supplies of provisions from England & Ireland on which the enemy's armies here are to depend ; or by setting in motion the great power they have collected in the West Indies, & calling our enemy to the defence of the possessions they have there :

That it would be idle to lose time in settling the terms of alliance, till we had first determined we would enter into alliance :

That it is necessary to lose no time in opening a trade for our people, who will want clothes, and will want money too for the payment of taxes :

And that the only misfortune is that we did not enter into alliance with France six months sooner, as besides opening their ports for the vent of our last year's produce, they might have marched an army into Germany and prevented the petty princes there from selling their unhappy subjects to subdue us.

In the evening (of the 8th³⁴), following the debate, Edward Rutledge writes³⁴ to Jay: "[Z] The Congress sat till 7³⁵ o'clock this evening in consequence of a motion of R. H. Lee's rendering ourselves free & independ-

Resolved that it is the opinion of this Com. that
the first resolution be postponed to this day three weeks
and that in the mean time a committee be appointed to
prepare a Declaration to the effect of the said first resolution

+ least any time sh^d be lost in case the Congress
agree to this resolution.

June 7. 1776.
Resolutions moved
referred for consideration
till to morrow

Resolution of the committee of the whole of June 10th, now in the Library of Congress, in Washington. It is written on the back of the original resolutions (See facing p. 108) in the handwriting of Richard Henry Lee. It is in the handwriting

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ant State. The sensible part of the House opposed the Motion — they had no objection to forming a Scheme of a Treaty which they would send to France by proper Persons & uniting this Continent by a Confederacy; they saw no Wisdom in a *Declaration* of Independence, nor any other Purpose to be enforced by it, but placing ourselves in the Power of those with whom we mean to treat, giving our Enemy Notice of our Intentions before we had taken any steps to execute them . . . The event, however, was that the Question was postponed; it is to be renewed on Monday when I mean to move that it should be postponed for 3 Weeks or Months. In the mean Time the plan of Confederation & the Scheme of Treaty may go on. I don't know whether I shall succeed in this Motion; I think not, it is at least Doubtful. However I must do what is right in my own Eyes, & Consequences must take Care of themselves. I wish you had been here — the whole Argument was sustained on one side by R. Livingston, Wilson, Dickenson, & myself, & by the Power of all N. England, Virginia & Georgia at the other."

On Monday, June 10th³⁶, the Journal tells us,

Agreeable to Order the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take into their farther consideration the resolutions to them referred and after some time spent³⁷ thereon the president resumed the chair and ~~M^r Harrison reported that the Com^{rs} have taken into consideration the matter to them referred~~ and M^r Harrison reported that the committee have had under consideration the resolutions to them referred and have come to a resolution³⁸, which he he read

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The Congress took into consideration the report from the committee of the whole whereupon

Resolved That the ^{consideration of the} first resolution be postponed to this day three weeks, and ~~that~~, in the mean ^{while that no} time ~~least any time should~~ be lost in case the Congress ^{agree thereto} ~~to this resolution~~, a committee be appointed to prepare a declaration to the effect of the said first resolution, which is in these words

“That these united colonies are and of right ought to be free and independant states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown and that all political connection between them & the state of great Britain is & ought to be totally dissolved”

Resolved That the com^{ee} be discharged.

The several matters to this day referred being postponed Adjourned to 9 o clock to morrow.

“The question for postponing the declaration . . . was carried by seven Colonies against five :[.]”³⁹

Jefferson's *notes* say :

It appearing in the course of these debates that the colonies of N. York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware ^{& South Carolina⁴⁰} & Maryland ~~had not yet advanced to~~ were not yet matured for falling off from the parent stem, but that they were fast advancing to that state, it was thought most prudent to wait a while for them, and to postpone the final decision to July 1.

It seems highly probable⁴¹ — though the language is not very definite — that the change of Hewes⁴² spoken of by John Adams in a letter⁴³ to William Plumer, dated Quincy, March 28, 1813, took place, in the committee of the whole, *upon this day* (or upon the 8th?). Adams says : “[J] You inquire, in your kind letter of the 19th,

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whether 'every member of Congress did, on the 4th of July, 1776, in fact, cordially approve of the declaration of independence.' They who were then members, all signed it, and, as I could not see their hearts, it would be hard for me to say they did not approve it; but, as far as I could penetrate the intricate, internal foldings of their souls, I then believed, and have not since altered my opinion, that there were several who signed with regret, and several others, with many doubts and much lukewarmness. The measure had been upon the market for months, and obstinately opposed from day to day. Majorities were constantly against it. For many days the majority depended on Mr. Hewes, of North Carolina. While a member⁴⁴, one day, was speaking, and reading documents from all the colonies, to prove that the public opinion, the general sense of all, was in favor of the measure, when he came to North Carolina, and produced letters and public proceedings which demonstrated that the majority of that colony were in favor of it, Mr. Hewes, who had hitherto constantly voted against it, started suddenly upright, and lifting up both his hands to Heaven, as if he had been in a trance, cried out, 'It is done! and I will abide by it.' I would give more for a perfect painting of the terror and horror upon the faces of the old majority, at that critical moment, than for the best piece of Raphael. The question, however, was eluded by an immediate motion for adjournment. The struggle in Congress was long known abroad. Some members, who foresaw that the point would be carried, left the house and went home, to avoid voting in the affirmative or negative. Pennsylvania and New

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Jersey recalled all their delegates who had voted against independence, and sent new ones expressly to vote for it. The last debate but one was the most copious and animated; but the question was now evaded by a motion to postpone it to another day; some members, however, declaring that, if the question should be now demanded, they should vote for it, but they wished for a day or two more to consider it. When that day arrived, some of the new members desired to hear the arguments for and against the measure. When these were summarily recapitulated, the question was put and carried. There were no yeas and nays in those times. A Committee was appointed to draw a declaration; when reported, it underwent abundance of criticism and alteration; but, when finally accepted, all those members who had voted against independence, now declared they would sign and support it."

The Journal for June 11th⁴⁵ says:

Resolved That a committee to prepare the Declaration consist of five members

The members chosen M^r Jefferson, M^r J Adams⁴⁶, M^r Franklin M^r Shearman & M^r R. R. Livingston⁴⁷

John Adams, in his *Autobiography*⁴⁸, tells us: "[J] Mr. Jefferson had been now about a year a member of Congress, but had attended his duty in the house a very small part of the time, and, when there, had never spoken in public. During the whole time I sat with him in Congress, I never heard him utter three sentences together. It will naturally be inquired how it happened that he was

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appointed on a committee of such importance. There were more reasons than one. Mr. Jefferson had the reputation of a masterly pen; he had been chosen a delegate in Virginia, in consequence of a very handsome public paper which he had written for the House of Burgesses . . . Another reason was, that Mr. Richard Henry Lee was not beloved⁴⁹ by the most of his colleagues from Virginia, and Mr. Jefferson was set up to rival and supplant him. This could be done only by the pen, for Mr. Jefferson could stand no competition with him or anyone else in elocution and public debate." "[Qy] Jefferson was chairman because he had most votes and he had most votes because We united in him, to the Exclusion of R. H. Lee in [or]der to keep out Harrison."

In his letter of 1822 to Pickering, he says: "[Ms] You enquire⁵⁰ why so young a man as Jefferson was placed at the head of the Committee for preparing a declaration of Independence? I answer, it was the Frankfort advice⁵¹, to place Virginia at the head of everything. M^r. Richard Henry Lee, might be gone to Virginia to his sick family, for ought I know, but that was not⁵² the reason of M^r. Jefferson's appointment. There were three Committees appointed at the same time. One for the Declaration of Independence; another for preparing Articles of Confederation; and another for preparing a Treaty to be proposed to France. M^r Lee was chosen for the Committee of confederation, and it was not thought convenient that the same person should be upon both. M^r Jefferson came into Congress in June 1775. and brought with him a reputation for literature, science, and a happy talent of composition. Writings of his were

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handed about remarkable for the peculiar felicity of expression. Though a silent member in Congress, he was so prompt, frank, explicit and decisive upon committees and in conversation, not even Sam^l Adams was more so, that he soon seized upon my heart, and upon this occasion I gave him my vote and did all in my power to procure the votes of others. I think he had one more vote than any other, and that placed him at the head of the Committee. I had the next highest number and that placed me the second."

Samuel Adams was 53 years old ; Hancock, 39 ; R. H. Lee, 44 ; Harrison, about 36 ; John Adams, 40 ; Jefferson⁸³, 33 ; Franklin, 70 ; Sherman, 55 ; and R. R. Livingston, 29.

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V

THE POSTPONEMENT

THE consideration of the initial resolution of June 7th was postponed, on the 10th, as seen, to July 1st. This postponement was made upon the motion of Edward Rutledge. Its purpose, Gerry writes¹, to James Warren, June 11th, was "to give the Assemblies of the Middle Colonies an opportunity to take off their restrictions and let their Delegates unite in the measure." Jefferson, in his *notes*, as shown, is even more specific:

It appearing in the course of these debates that the colonies of N. York², New Jersey, Pennsylvania³, Delaware ^{& South Carolina⁴} & Maryland⁵ ~~had not yet advanced to~~ were not yet matured for falling off from the parent stem, but that they were fast advancing to that state, it was thought most prudent to wait a while for them . . .

Curiously enough, the Provincial Congress of New Jersey had already been called (at Burlington) for the very day of the postponement. An insufficient number of Deputies attending, however, it adjourned to the morning of the 11th, and thence to the afternoon.

On the 12th was read the resolution⁴ of the Convention of Virginia of May 15th, forwarded by Pendleton. Sergeant⁵ and Cooper⁶, two of the Delegates⁷ to Con-

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gress, and John Hart, Abraham Clark and Dr. John Witherspoon — all of whom had been elected Deputies — were present.

Three days later⁸, Sergeant writes (from Burlington), to John Adams: “[Qy] Jacta est Alea. — We are passing the Rubicon & our Delegates in Congress on the first of July will vote plump. — The Bearer is a staunch Whigg & will answer any Questions You may need to ask. I have been very busy here & have stole a Minute from Business to write this[.]”

The election was held sometime after 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the 22d — Sergeant⁹, Cooper, Hart, Clark and Witherspoon still being present. Five *new* Delegates — Richard Stockton¹⁰, Clark¹⁰, Hart¹⁰, Francis Hopkinson¹⁰ and Witherspoon^{10 11} — were elected.

Sergeant writes, on the 24th, to Samuel Adams: “[SA] I have declined to be appointed anew to the Continental Congress for Reasons which I have no Room to explain (this being the only white Piece of Paper in Bristol) . . . I am confident that it is better that I stay in the Colony for the present than in the Continental Congress . . . The People of this Colony were quite in the dark as to the Sentiments of their Delegates until lately. — Our new ones I trust will not deceive us; but lest they should I wish I could promptly learn their conduct whenever they may by any means be found tripping.”

Samuel Adams, in a letter to R. H. Lee, dated July 15th, says¹²: “[A] All of them appear to be zealously attached to the American Cause —”

The Delegates were empowered and directed, as shown by the Journal of Congress, “in the name of this colony

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to join with the delegates of the other colonies . . . in the most vigorous measures for supporting the just rights and liberties of America & if you shall judge it necessary or expedient for this purpose we empower you to join with them in declaring the united colonies independant of great Britain ”.

Six days later (the 28th), the Journal of Congress tells us, “ Francis Hopkinson ¹³ Esquire one of the Delegates for New Jersey attended & produced the credentials of their appointment . . . ”

M:Kean ¹⁴ (though it is possible — but not probable — that Rodney ¹⁵ also was instrumental) seems to have assumed the brunt of the battle in Delaware. On June 14th, he “ delivered in at the Chair ” in the House of Representatives, at Newcastle, a certified copy of the resolution ¹⁶ of Congress of the 15th of May; and, on the 17th (evidently ¹⁷), John Adams writes to Chase: “[QyC] M’Kean has returned from the Lower Counties with Full Powers. Their Instructions are in the same Words with the new ones ¹⁸ to the Delegates of Pensilvania. — ”

Maryland too came into line, though more slowly ¹⁹.

On June 11th — the day following the postponement —, Tilghman, Stone and Rogers ²⁰ wrote, from Philadelphia, to their Council of Safety, at Annapolis: “[Md] This postpone was made to give an opportunity to the Delegates from those Colonies, which had not as yet given Authority to adopt this decisive measure, to consult their constituents; It will be necessary that the Convention of Maryland should meet as soon as possible to

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give the explicit sense of the Province on this point . . . We wish to have the fair and uninfluenced sense of the People we have the Honour to represent . . . and . . . it would be well if the Delegates to Convention were desired to endeavour to collect the opinion of the people at large in some manner or other previous to the meeting of Convention. We shall attend the Convention whenever it meets if it is thought proper we should do so. The approaching Harvest will perhaps render it very inconvenient for many Gentlemen to attend the Convention. This however must not be regarded when matters of such momentous Concern demand their deliberation . . . The question for postponing the declaration of Independence was carried by seven Colonies against five: [.]”

This letter — strangely enough — passed on the road one (dated the 10th) *from* the Council, stating “[Md] we have resolved²¹ that a Convention be held at Annapolis on Thursday the 20th instant, at which time we shall be glad to see as many of you as can be spared from Congress.”

To the letter from the Council (*received* on the 14th), Stone and Rogers replied, on the 15th: “[Md] We wrote you a few days ago requesting a call of the Convention to deliberate upon matters of the last Importance, and we are glad that an earlier meeting than we expected will afford an opportunity to our constituents to communicate to us the sense of the Province upon the very interesting subjects mentioned in our Letter. The session will be a very important one and we wish to attend, tho we know not whether it will be agreeable

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to our constituents to leave the Province unrepresented in Congress . . . We shall wait to hear from you and them upon this head, indeed we can't quit the Congress without Leave which will not be given here unless our attendance in Convention is desired. M^r Tilghman left us yesterday, M^r Paca²² is here."

This reply and a second letter from the Council — Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, chairman, William Hayward and Thomas B. Hands seeming to have been present — also passed on the road. The latter, dated Annapolis, June 14th, reads: "[Md] Your favour of the 11th inst we rec^d at 10 o'Clock this morning — We have already complied with almost every thing you request^d, and we wish we had time to collect the fair and uninfluenced sense of our people on the most important point of Independence before the meeting of the Convention; but as the assembling of that body is already fixed on the 20th of this month, it will be impossible to make the necessary enquiry before that time. We presume the first business of the Convention will be regulating the movement of the militia, and that if necessary in the mean time the several committees of observation may be directed fairly to collect the sense of the Province on the subject of Independence, and make report thereof to the Convention. Any mode their Representatives may think proper to point out would be better relished by the people, than for us to put them in a violent ferment in a way that might not be approved of — 'tis a point of great magnitude, and we think it's best, the shortness of the time considered, to leave it untouched until the meeting of the Convention on

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thursday next. M^r Paca no doubt is with you before now, Mess^{rs} Johnson²³ and Goldsborough²² still with their families we hear — we wish to have you all down when the grand question is decided, we leave it, however to yourselves to judge whether you can be spared from Congress, and hope whatever is done will be generally agreed to.”

On the day (June 11th) on which Tilghman, Stone and Rogers wrote their letter, though doubtless later in the day²³, Chase and Charles Carroll of Carrollton appeared in Congress. They, with Franklin²⁴, had been appointed²⁵ commissioners to Canada and (they) had just returned.

Three days later (Friday, the 14th), as we have seen, a letter from the Council of Safety arrived, stating that the 20th had been set for a meeting of the Convention, and Tilghman set out for Maryland.

Probably on the same day, Chase penned the following note²⁶ to John Adams: “[Qy] M^r Chase will excuse the late Neglects and Inattention of M^r John Adams to him, upon the express Condition, that in future he constantly communicate to M^r Chase every Matter relative to persons or Things. M^r Chase flatters himself with seeing M^r Adams on Monday or Tuesday fortnight with the Voice of Maryland in favor of Independence and a foreign Alliance, which are, in M^r Chases Opinion, the only and best Measures to preserve the Liberties of America — direct to Annapolis²⁷ [.]”

Adams in his reply — *dated* the 14th²⁸, though we think that it was not *sent* nor the latter part at least of it *written* until the 17th²⁹ — says: “[QyC] M^r Bedford

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put into my Hand this Moment a Card from you, containing a Reprehension for the past, and a Requisition for the Time to come . . . I have no Objection to writing you Facts, but I would not meddle with Characters, for the World . . . M^r Adams ever was and ever will be glad to see M^r Chase, but M^r Chase never was nor will be more welcome than, if he should come next Monday or Tuesday fortnight with the Voice of Maryland in Favour of Independence . . . M^r Kean has returned from the Lower Counties with full Powers — Their Instructions are in the same Words with the new ones to the Delegates of Pensilvania. — New Jersey, have dethroned [Governor] Franklyn, and in a Letter³⁰ which is just come to my Hand from Indisputable Authority, I am told that the Delegates from that Colony, will ‘vote plump.’ — Maryland, now stands alone. I presume she will soon join Company — if not she must be left alone. — ”

Before this letter was received, as we shall see, and upon the day appointed (the 20th), the Convention convened, at Annapolis.

On the same day, it “Resolved, That the President . . . inform the Deputies . . . in Congress that their attendance in Convention is desired ; and that they move Congress for permission to attend here, but that they do not leave the Congress without such permission, and without first having obtained an order that the consideration of the questions of Independence . . . shall be postponed until Deputies from this Province can attend Congress, which shall be as soon as possible.”

Tilghman, Chase, Goldsborough³¹ and Johnson were

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already present³² in the Convention when this resolution was adopted. Carroll appeared on the 24th.

On the afternoon of the 21st, Chase writes (from Annapolis) to John Adams: "[Qy] To remind our friends of their Inattention³³ and Neglect must give pain. I am almost angry with you. — if you are inclined to oblige or please Me write constantly. — I found my Lady very ill, but have the pleasure to say she is better, tho' still very low and weak . . . I am almost resolved not to inform You, that a general Dissatisfaction prevails here with our Convention. read the papers, & be assured Frederick³⁴ speaks the Sense of many Counties. I have not been idle. I have appealed *in Writing* to the People. County after County is instructing [.]"

Adams, on the 24th, replies: "[QyC] I received your obliging Favour of the 21st this Morning, and I thank you for it. — dont be angry with me. I hope I shall attone for past Sins of omission soon, The Express which you mention brought in such contradictory accounts, that I did not think it worth while to write to you upon it . . . a Resolution of your convention was read in Congress this Morning, and the Question was put whether your Delegates [Paca, Stone and Rogers³⁵] should have leave to go home, and whether those great Questions should be postponed, beyond the first of July. — The Determination was in the Negative. — We should have been happy to have obliged your Convention and your Delegates. — But it is now become public³⁶, in the Colonies that these Questions are to be brought on the first of July. — The Lower Counties have instructed their Members, as the Assembly of Pensilvania have. —

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Jersey has chosen five new Members all independent Souls, and instructed them to vote on the first of July for Independence. There is a Conference of Committees from every County in Pensilvania, now sitting in this City, who yesterday voted that the Delegates for this Colony ought on the first of July to vote for Independence. — This Vote was not only unanimous, but I am told by one of them, that all the Members declared seriatim that this was their Opinion, and the Opinion of the several Counties and Towns they represented, and many of them produced Instructions from their Constituents to vote for that Measure. — You see therefore that there is such a universal Expectation that the great Question will be decided the first of July, and it has been already so often postponed, that to postpone it again would hazard Convulsions, and dangerous Conspiracies. — It must then come on and be decided — I hope that before Monday Morning next, we shall receive from Maryland, Instructions to do right.”

Four days later (Friday, the 28th), — (doubtless³⁷) following the receipt by Chase of this letter — the Convention³⁸ resolved³⁹ “That the instructions given by the Convention of December last (and renewed by the Convention in May⁴⁰) . . . be recalled, and the restrictions therein contained be removed; that the Deputies . . . be authorized and empowered to concur with the other United Colonies, or a majority of them, in declaring the United Colonies free and independent States . . .”

Chase, in a note⁴¹ to John Adams, written that evening at 9 o'clock, says: “[Qy] I thank You for your two Letters of the 17th & 24th Inst: — They were handed

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to Me in Convention—I shall offer no other Apology for Concluding, than that I am this Moment from the House to procure an Express to follow the Post with an Unan: Vote of our Convention for *Independence* e: e:— See the glorious Effects of County Instructions^{42 43},—our people⁴⁴ have fire if not smothered . . .”

This “Unan: Vote of our Convention for *Independence*”, as Chase calls it, was, as shown by the Journal, “laid before Congress & read” on the morning of July 1st. It was a good augury of the vote to be taken on the initial resolution in the committee of the whole on that day and in Congress on the next.

Jefferson does not speak of New Hampshire, and rightly.

Her Delegates, however, had early⁴⁵ seen the trend of events and were none the less desirous of knowing the “sense” of the people. On May 28th—the day after the resolution of the Convention of Virginia of the 15th was presented to Congress—, Whipple⁴⁶ writes to Meshech Weare: “[BT] The Convention of Virginia have instructed their Delegates, to use their endeavors that Congress should declare the Colonies a free independent State—North Carolina have signified the same desire—South Carolina and Georgia will readily accede, and we shall be glad to know the opinion of our Colony on this subject”; and, on June 6th—the day before the introduction of the initial resolution by R. H. Lee—, Bartlett⁴⁷ writes to Folsom: “[N] The affair of declaring these Colonies Independant States and absolved from all allegiance to the Crown of Brittain must soon be Decided

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whatever may be the opinion of the Delegates⁴⁸ of New Hampshire on that matter they think it their duty to act agreeable to the minds of their Constituents and in an affair of that Magnitude Desire the Explicit Directions of the Legislature of the Colony and that it may be forwarded to us as soon as possible[.]”

Four days later—the day of the postponement—, Bartlett writes, to Langdon⁴⁹: “[BT] . . . you have seen the Virginia Resolves Concerning Independence—I wish our Colony would give us Instructions on that head, for whatever may be our private opinions, instructions from the Colony either regulating or only authorizing us to vote in favor of it, if we should think it for the best would Carry great weight with it”; and, on the next day, both Whipple and Bartlett write to the same end.

The House of Representatives, sitting at Exeter, on June 11th,—following doubtless⁵⁰ the receipt of the first letter—accordingly “[NH] Voted, That Samuel Cutts, Timothy Walker and John Dudley Esq^r be a Committee of this house to join a Committee of the Hon^{ble} Board to make a Dra’t of a Declaration of this General Assembly for Independence . . .”

On the same day, this “[NH] Vote . . . [was] bro’t up, read & Concurred [in by the Council—Weare, President, Matthew Thornton, Ebenezer Thompson, John Wentworth, Wyseman Clagett, Jonathan Blanchard, Samuel Ashley, Benjamin Giles, John Hurd and Folsom doubtless being present] with this Amendment, That [the committee prepare a draft, setting forth] the sentiments & opinion of the Council & Assembly . . . relative to the United Colonies forming themselves into

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Independent States in order that when passed the same may be transmitted to our Delegates at the Continental Congress, and that Messrs. Hurd, Wyseman Clagett & the Sec^y [Thompson] be added to the Committee."

On the 14th, Bartlett's letter of the 6th arrived; and, on the 15th, "[NH] The Committee of both Houses . . . made Report as on file—which report being read and considered, Voted Unanimously, That the Report of said Committee be received and accepted, and that the Dra't by them bro't in be sent to our Delegates at the Continental Congress forthwith, as the sence of this House."

Folsom, in acknowledging, on the 15th, Bartlett's letter (of the 6th), says: "[N] I yesterday received yours of the 6th instant . . . I doubt not you will be pleased to hear that a prety General harmony in the Grand American Cause Prevails here—the vote for independency you will see is unanim' in both Houses . . . I wish you the divine blssing at the Congress—I doubt not if we remain firm & united we shall under god disappoint the Sanguenary designs of ouer Enemies —"

The instructions were "[NH] to join with the other Colonies in declaring The Thirteen United Colonies, A FREE & INDEPENDENT STATE . . ." ⁵¹

Massachusetts also was, of course, in no sense doubtful.

We have already learned somewhat of the views of three of her Delegates — of Gerry and of the "famous Samuel and John Adams".

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Hancock's position is less clear.

"Laco" (generally admitted to be Stephen Higginson) — speaking of the part he "acted as a member of Congress; and how far he contributed to effect our national independence" — thus expresses himself in *The Massachusetts Centinel* (C) of February 21, 1789: "Mr. H. was happy in having for his colleagues men . . . who were resolved, for political purposes, to support him and make him conspicuous. They accordingly obtained his appointment to the chair of Congress. But, being elevated to the highest point, through their agency, he thought them no longer necessary to his importance; and from the vanity and caprice, inherent in his nature, he attached himself to the tories, who were then in Congress. These men had perceived his love of flattery . . . In all questions for decisive measures against Britain, he hung back; and very much contributed to obstruct the Declaration of Independence . . . When the important hour arrived, that was to give birth to our country, as a nation — when the pulse of his colleagues, as well as of the majority of Congress, and of the people at large, beat high for independence, and it was found the important question could no longer be put off, Mr. H. then gave a vote in favour of the measure, and put his official signature to that memorable act . . . With these facts in our mind, which are very notorious, and which Mr. S. A. and others can at any time verify, we naturally wonder, and smile at the extraordinary merit Mr. H. has assumed to himself, from the publication of that Declaration, with his name as President. The Secretary of Congress has as good a title to superiour respect, for having certi-

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fied the copy, as Mr. H. has for having signed the original—they were both mere official, mechanical acts, without any responsibility; such as the most timid man upon the continent, in their situations, would not have hesitated to perform. Had Mr. H. been a zealous promoter of the measure, he would then have been entitled to an equal share of veneration with those of his colleagues, who were advocates for it; but, having been opposed to it until it became inevitable, and reluctantly drawn in with his vote in its favour, at the last moment, we ought to resent his vanity and assurance, in claiming our first esteem and respect on that occasion.”

Indeed, John Adams, in his *Autobiography*⁶², says that, on March 15th, for the first time, Harrison was made chairman of the committee of the whole; that, during the succeeding weeks, the same honor was often conferred upon him; and that “[J] Mr. Hancock, had hitherto nominated Governor Ward⁶³, of Rhode Island, to that conspicuous position. Mr. Harrison had courted Mr. Hancock, and Mr. Hancock had courted Mr. Duane, Mr. Dickinson, and their party, and leaned so partially in their favor, that Mr. Samuel Adams had become very bitter against Mr. Hancock, and spoke of him with great asperity in private circles; and this alienation between them continued from this time till the year 1789, thirteen years, when they were again reconciled. Governor Ward was become extremely obnoxious to Mr. Hancock’s party, by his zealous attachment to Mr. Samuel Adams and Mr. Richard Henry Lee.”

Whatever may have been Hancock’s views, and especially before R. H. Lee offered the resolution, we

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know, however⁵⁴, that, on June 11th, Hancock writes, to Washington : " We have been two days in a Committee of the whole, deliberating on three⁵⁵ capital matters, the most important in their nature of any that have yet been before us, and have sat till seven oclock in the evening each day " ; on July 1st, also to Washington : "[S] . . . the Congress . . . have by a particular appointm^t had under consideration a momentuous matter this day . . . My next will Inform you I hope of some very decisive measures " ; and, on July 6th, to the same patriot : "[S] The Congress, for some Time past, have had their Attention occupied by one of the most interesting and important Subjects that could possibly come before them ; or any other Assembly of Men. Altho it is not possible to foresee the Consequences of Human Actions, yet it is nevertheless a Duty we owe ourselves and Posterity, in all our public Counsels, to decide in the best Manner we are able, and to leave the Event to that Being who controuls both Causes and Events to bring about his own Determination. Impressed with this Sentiment, and at the same Time fully convinced, that our Affairs may take a more favourable Turn, the Congress have judged it necessary to dissolve the Connection between Great Britain and the American Colonies, and to declare them free & independent States ; as you will perceive by the enclosed Declaration, which I am directed to transmit to you, and to request you will have it proclaimed at the Head of the Army in the Way, you shall think most proper."

With what interest must the Delegates in *Philadelphia* have watched for the news from the doubtful Colonies !

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We get some idea of the feeling there from⁵⁶ two letters of Whipple, dated June 17th and 24th: "[BT] This day fortnight I expect the grand question will be determined in Congress, that being the day assigned to receive the report of a Committee who are preparing a Declaration. — there is a great change here since my arrival [February 28th] as there was in New Hampshire between the time that the powder was taken from the fort and the battle of Bunker Hill . . . Affairs go on bravely as you 'll see by the papers." "[BT] The middle Colonies are getting in a good way. Next Monday being the first of July, the grand question is to be debated and I believe determined unanimously. May God unite our hearts in all things that tend to the well being of the rising Empire."

The next day (the 25th), Gerry writes to James Warren: "I think we are in a fair way to a speedy Declaration of Independency . . . New-Jersey has appointed five new Delegates, and instructed them to vote in favour of the question; and it appears to me that there is not a doubt of any Colony on the continent, except New-York and Maryland. These will not impede us a moment. I do not affirm that either of these is of the neuter gender; but on the other hand am persuaded the people are in favour of a total and final separation, and will support the measure, even if the Conventions and Delegates . . . vote against it. Since my first arrival in this city [February 9th] the New-England Delegates have been in a continual war with the advocates of Proprietary interests in Congress and this Colony [Pennsylvania]. These are they who are most in the way of the measures

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we have proposed; but I think the contest is pretty nearly at an end, and am persuaded that the people of this and the middle Colonies have a clearer view of their interests, and will use their endeavours to eradicate the Ministerial influence of Governours, Proprietors, and Jacobites . . .”

On the 28th, Penn, writing to Samuel Johnston, says: “[Gz] I arrived here several days ago in good health & found M^r Hewes well . . . The first day of July will be made remarcable then the question relative to Independance will be agitated and there is no doubt but a total seperation from Britain will take place this Province [Pennsylvania] is for it indeed so are all⁵⁷ except Maryland & her people are coming over fast . . .”

In another letter of the 28th, written at 11 o'clock at night, he says: “[NC] I wish things may answer our expectation after we are independant. I fear most people are too sanguine relative to commerce; however it is a measure our enemies have forced upon us. I don't doubt but we shall have spirit enough to act like men. Indeed, it could no longer be delayed.”

Hewes, on the same day, writes to James Iredell: “[I] On Monday the great question of independency . . . will come on. It will be carried, I expect, by a great majority, and then, I suppose we shall take upon us a new name.”

On the 29th⁵⁸, Edward Rutledge writes to Jay: “[Z] I write this for the express Purpose of requesting that if possible you will give your attendance in Congress on Monday next . . . I am sincerely convinced that . . .

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[your presence] will be absolutely necessary in this City during the whole of the ensuing Week.—A Declaration of Independence, the Form of a Confederation of these Colonies, and a Scheme for a treaty with foreign Powers will be laid before the House on Monday. Whether we shall be able effectually to oppose the first . . . will depend in a great measure upon the exertions of the . . . sensible part of the Members. I trust you will contribute in a considerable degree to effect the Business and therefore I wish you to be with us. Recollect the manner in which your Colony is at this time represented. Clinton has Abilities but is silent in general and wants (when he does speak) that Influence to which he is entitled. Floyd, Wisner, Lewis and Alsop tho' good men, never quit their chairs. You must know the Importance of these Questions too well not to wish to [be] present whilst they are debating and therefore I shall say no more upon the Subject . . . If you can't come let me hear⁶⁹ from you by the Return of the Post."

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VI

DRAFTING THE DECLARATION

JOHAN ADAMS, in his *Autobiography*, gives the following account (written, according to Charles Francis Adams, in 1805) of the drafting of the Declaration :

[Qy] The Committee had several Meetings, in which were proposed the articles of which the Declaration was to consist, and minutes made of them. The Committee then appointed M^r Jefferson and me, to draw them up in form, and cloath them in proper Dress. The Sub Committee met, and considered the Minutes, making such Observations on them as then occurred : when M^r Jefferson desired me to take them to my lodgings and make the Draught. This I declined and gave several reasons for declining 1. that he was a Virginian and I a Massachusetten-sian. 2. that he was a Southern Man and I a northern one. 3. That I had been so obnoxious for my early and constant Zeal in promoting the Measure, that any draught of mine, would undergo a more severe Scrutiny and Criticism in Congress, than one of his composition. 4^{thly} and lastly and that would be reason enough if there were no other, I had a great opinion of the Elegance of his pen, and none at all of my own. I therefore insisted that no hesitation should be made on his part. He accordingly took the Minutes and in a day or two produced to me his Draught. Whether I made or suggested any corrections I remember not. The Report was made to the Committee of five, by them examined, but whether altered or corrected in any

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thing I cannot recollect. But in Substance at least it was reported to Congress where, after a Severe Criticism, and Striking out several of the most oratorical Paragraphs it was adopted on the fourth of July 1776, and published to the World.

A similar account is found in his letter of 1822 to Pickering:¹

[Ms] The Committee met, discussed the subject, and then appointed Mr. Jefferson & me to make the draught; I suppose, because we were the two highest on the list. The Sub-Committee met; Jefferson proposed to me to make the draught, I said I will not; You shall do it. Oh No! Why will you not? You ought to do it. I will not. Why? Reasons enough. What can be your reasons? Reason 1st You are a Virginian and Virginia ought to appear at the head of this business. Reason 2^d I am obnoxious, suspected and unpopular; You are very much otherwise. Reason 3^d You can write ten times better than I can. "Well," said Jefferson, "if you are decided I will do as well as I can." Very well, when you have drawn it up we will have a meeting. A meeting we accordingly had and conn'd the paper over. I was delighted with its high tone, and the flights of Oratory with which it abounded, especially that concerning Negro Slavery, which though I knew his Southern Bretheren would never suffer to pass in Congress, I certainly never would oppose. There were other expressions, which I would not have inserted had I drawn it up; particularly that which called the King a Tyrant. I thought this too personal, for I never believed George to be a tyrant in disposition and in nature: I always believed him to be deceived by his Courtiers on both sides the Atlantic, and in his Official capacity only, Cruel.

I thought the expression too passionate and too much like scolding for so grave and solemn a document; but as Franklin and Sherman were to inspect it afterwards, I thought it would

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not become me to strike it out. I consented to report it and do not now remember that I made or suggested a single alteration. We reported it to the committee of Five. It was read and I do not remember that Franklin or Sherman criticized anything. We were all in haste; Congress was impatient and the Instrument was reported, I believe in Jefferson's hand writing as he first drew it . . . As you justly observe², there is not an idea in it, but what had been hackney'd in Congress for two years before. The substance of it is contained in the Declaration of rights and the violation of those rights, in the Journal of Congress in 1774.³ Indeed, the essence of it is contained in a pamphlet, voted and printed by the Town of Boston before the first Congress met, composed by James Otis, as I suppose—in one of his lucid intervals, and pruned and polished by Sam^l Adams—

This letter was quoted by Pickering in the course of some remarks made at Salem on the succeeding national anniversary.

It brought forth immediately, August 30th (1823), a letter from Jefferson, to Madison, in which Jefferson gave an account quite different. He says:

[S;P] You have doubtless seen Timothy Pickering's 4th of July observations on the Declaration of Independance. if his principles and prejudices personal and political, gave us no reason to doubt whether he had truly quoted the information he alledges to have received from M^r. Adams, I should then say that, in some of the particulars, m^r. Adams's memory has led him into unquestionable error. at the age of 88 and 47. years after the transactions of Independance, this is not wonderful.⁴ nor should I, at the age of 80, on the small advantage of that difference only, venture to oppose my memory to his, were it not supported by written notes, taken by myself at the moment and on the spot. he says 'the

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committee (of 5. to wit, D^r Franklin, Sherman, Livingston and ourselves) met, discussed the subject, and then appointed him and myself to make the draught: that we, as a subcommittee met, & after the urgencies of each on the other, I consented to undertake the task; that the draught being made, we, the subcommittee, met, & conned the paper over, and he does not remember that he made or suggested a single alteration.' now these details are quite incorrect. the committee of 5. met, no such thing as a subcommittee was proposed, but they unanimously⁵ pressed on myself alone to undertake the draught. I consented; I drew it; but before I reported it to the committee, I communicated it *separately*⁶ to D^r Franklin⁷ and m^r Adams requesting their corrections; because they were the two members of whose judgments and amendments I wished most to have the benefit before presenting it to the Committee; and you have seen the original paper⁸ now⁹ in my hands, with the corrections¹⁰ of Doctor Franklin and m^r Adams interlined in their own handwritings.

^{their}
= alterations were two or three only, and merely verbal. I then¹¹ wrote a fair copy¹², reported it to the Committee, and from them, unaltered to Congress. this personal communication and consultation with m^r Adams he has misremembered into the meetings of a sub-committee. Pickering's observations, and m^r Adams's in addition, 'that it contained no new ideas, that it is a common place compilation, it's sentiments hacknied in Congress for two years before, and it's essence contained in Otis's pamphlet,' may all be true. of that I am not to be the judge. Rich^d H. Lee charged it as copied from Locke's treatise on government.¹³ Otis's pamphlet I never saw, & whether I had gathered my ideas from reading or reflection I do not know. I know only that I turned to neither book or pamphlet while writing it.¹⁴ I did not consider it as any part of my charge to invent new ideas altogether & to offer no sentiment which had

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ever been expressed before.] had m^r Adams been so restrained, Congress would have lost the benefit of his bold and impressive advocations of the rights of revolution, for no man's confident & fervid addresses, more than m^r Adams's encouraged and supported us thro' the difficulties surrounding us, which, like the ceaseless action of gravity, weighed on us by night and by day. yet, on the same ground, we may ask what of these elevated thoughts was new, or can be affirmed never before to have entered the conceptions of man? Whether also the sentiments of inde-

which make so great a portion of the instrument

pendance, and the reasons for declaring it[^] had been hacknied in Congress for two years before the 4th of July 76. or this dictum also of m^r Adams be another slip of memory, let history say. this however I will say for m^r Adams, that he supported the declaration with zeal & ability, fighting fearlessly for every word of it. as to myself, I thought it a duty to be, on that occasion, a passive auditor of the opinions of others, more impartial judges than I could be, of it's merits or demerits. during the debate I was sitting by D^r Franklin, and he observed that I was writhing a little under the acrimonious criticisms on some of it's parts; and it was on that occasion that, by way of comfort, he told me the story¹⁶ of John Thompson, the Hatter, and his new sign. Timothy thinks the instrument the better for having a fourth of it expunged. he would have thought it still better had the other three fourths gone out also, all but the single sentiment (the only one he approves) which recommends friendship to his dear England, whenever she is willing to be at peace with us. his insinuations are that altho' 'the high tone of the instrument was in union[^] with the warm feelings of the times, this sentiment of habitual friendship to England should never be forgotten, and that the duties it enjoins should *especially* be borne in mind on every celebration of this anniversary.' in other words, that the Declaration, as being a libel on the government of England, composed in times of passion, should now be buried in utter oblivion

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~~but~~ to spare the feelings of our English friends and Angloman fellow citizens. but it is not to wound them that we wish to keep it in mind; but to cherish the principles of the instrument in the bosoms of our own citizens; and it is a heavenly comfort to see that these principles are yet so strongly felt as to render a circumstance so trifling as this little lapse of memory of *m^r* Adams worthy of being solemnly announced and supported at an anniversary assemblage of the nation on it's birthday. In opposition however to *m^r* Pickering, I pray God that these principles may be eternal . . .

The "written notes, taken by myself at the moment and on the spot" of which he speaks say merely :

the committee for drawing the declaration of Independance desired me to ^{do} ~~prepare~~ it. ~~I did so~~ it was accordingly done, and being approved by them, I reported it to the house . . .

It seems that, at one time, it was believed that the recital of wrongs in the Declaration was not Jefferson's composition—arising from the facts that this portion of the instrument was almost identical with similar recitals in the preamble to the Constitution of Virginia and that, when the Constitution was framed, Jefferson was not in Virginia.

The matter has since been cleared up, however; and it appears that *both* were composed by Jefferson—the recitals in the preamble to the Constitution first.

These are the facts :¹⁶

Certainly on May 27th, the resolutions of the Convention of Virginia of May 15th were laid before Congress, we believe by Nelson.

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Jefferson, who was already¹⁷ eager "to have his voice in" the "great questions of the session" and who thus learned of the action of the Convention, was inspired¹⁸ to draft a plan for the new government (of Virginia), and this (now in the New York Public Library, Lenox) he gave to Wythe (who was present in Congress on June 8th or 10th or on both days, we know, and who departed probably on the 13th) to lay before that body.

Meanwhile, as shown by a letter, dated Williamsburg, June 15th, from William Fleming, to Jefferson: "[S] The progress of the business in the convention is, according to the custom, but slow. — The Declaration of rights which is to serve as the basis of a new government, you will see in the news papers; the form or constitution of which is yet in embryo . . ."

Indeed, at 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the 22d, Fleming wrote, again to Jefferson from the same place: "[S] I being inform'd that the post is to set out in an hour, have just left the committee appointed to prepare a form of governm't to give you a summary of their proceeding. — The inclos'd, printed, plan was drawn by col. G. Mason and by him laid before the committee. They proceeded to examine it clause by clause, and have made such alterations as you will observe by examining the printed copy and the manuscript together; tho' I am fearful you will not readily understand them, having made my notes in a hurry at the Table, as the alterations were made. I left the committee debating on some amendments proposed to the last clause, which they have probably finished, as the bell, for the meeting of the house, is now ringing. This business has

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already taken up about a fortnights time, I mean in Committee. — ”

When this letter was written, Wythe evidently had not yet arrived. He was in attendance upon the Convention certainly as early as June 29th, however ; and, on *July* 27th, he himself writes, from Williamsburg to Jefferson: “[S] When I came here the plan of government had been committed to the whole house. To those who had the chief hand in forming it the one you put into my hands was shewn. Two or three parts of this were, with little alteration, inserted in that: but such was the impatience of sitting long enough to discuss several important points in which they differ, and so many other matters were necessarily to be despatched before the adjournment that I was persuaded the revision of a subject the members seemed tired of would at that time have been unsuccessfully proposed.”

We have also a letter from Pendleton to Jefferson, dated *July* 22d, which says: “[S] I expected you had in the Preamble to our form of Government, exhausted the Subject of complaint ag^t Geo. 3^d & was at a loss to discover what the Congress would do for one to their Declaration of Independance without copying, but find you have acquitted your selves very well on that score ; We are now engaged beyond the Power of withdrawing, and I think cannot fail of success in happiness, if we do not defeat our selves by intrigue & Canvassing to be uppermost in Offices of Power & Lucre. I fancy there was much of this in our last Convention, but not being of the party or in the Jurat, I cannot speak of it wth certainty, but am not otherwise able to account for the

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unmerited, cruel degradation¹⁹ of my friend Col: Harrison, who in my Opinion yields to no member of the Congress in point of Judgment or Integrity, unless he is strangely altered since I left them . . . As to my friend Braxton they have been ever at him, and whatever his own sentiments & conduct may have been, his connections furnished a plausible foundation for Opposition, and I was not surprised when he was left out . . . If Col: Harrison is not come away, tell him I expected he would be²⁰, or should have wrote him; I hope to see him on his return [.] ”

“ [V] The place of writing the Declaration ”, says Watson, “ has been differently²¹ stated.”

Indeed, as early as September 8, 1825, Dr. James Mease of Philadelphia wrote to Jefferson himself and inquired “ [S] in which house, and in which room of the house, you composed it. If a private house, the name of the person who kept it at the time would be acceptable.”

Jefferson, who was then at Monticello, replied, on the 16th²²:

²³ at the time²⁴ of writing that instrument I lodged in the house of a m^r Graaf, a new brick house²⁵ 3. stories high of which I rented the 2^d floor consisting of a parlour and bed room ready furnished. in that parlour I wrote habitually and in it wrote this paper particularly, so far I state from written ^{proofs} papers in my possession. ^{the following addn.} ~~th~~ ^{following} ~~other~~ specifns ~~I can give~~ ^{are but a} from ^{too} memory ^{much} much decayed to be relied on with ^{much} confidence. ~~the proprietor Gra~~ the proprietor Graaf was a young man, son of a German, & then

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newly married. I think he was a bricklayer, and that his house was on the S. side of Market street, probably between 7th & 6th ^{or perhaps higher} and if not then the only house on that part of the street,

I am sure there were few others²⁷ yet built ^{near it} if there be extant a Directory of that year it will ~~ascertain~~ probably lead to a recognition of the identical house, for the name of the owner may be relied on, while ~~it's~~ I may misremember the particular location. I have some idea, but very faint that it was a corner house, but ~~street.~~ ^{street.} I ~~have~~ have no other recollection throwing any light on the question, or worth communication . . .

²⁸ P.S. further reflection leads me to think more strongly that it might be the S.E. corner house of it's square, fronting Eastwardly.

This reply was corrected²⁹, four days later, by the following:

In the P.S. of my letter of the 16th I made the mistake of writing S.E. instead of N.E. it was the N.E. corner house ^{if my conjecture be right &} [^] be pleased so to correct it.

Again, on October 30th, he writes:

[P] Your letter of September 8. enquir'ng after the house and room in which the Declaration of independance was written has excited my curiosity to know whether my recollections were such as to enable you to find out the house.

Mease answers, November 4th: "[S] I duly received the three letters with which you favoured me, on the subject of the house in which you wrote the declaration of Independance . . . Upon reference to the sons of your landlord, I find that the house in which you resided in 1776, is at the South West Corner of Market

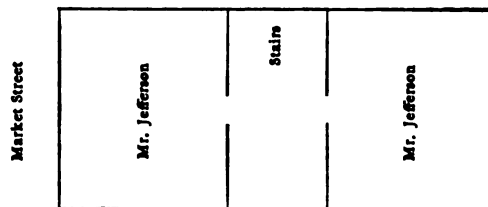
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and Seventh Streets. It has been for many years owned and occupied by Mess Simon and Hyman Gratz, merchants. M' Fred. Graff informed me that his parents often mentioned to him, the circumstance of your residing with them. The rooms which you occupied, are generally filled with goods. — I shall be deprived therefore of the pleasure of joining my friends to celebrate the anniversary of our national independance in them, but I still feel happy in being able to designate the house . . .”

Following the receipt of this letter, Jefferson adds to what we think is the rough draft of his original letter (of the 16th) — below the appended copy⁸⁰ of his letter of the 20th :

⁸¹ [S] see Mease's lre of Nov. 4. that the house was in fact at the S. W. corner of Market and 7th streets⁸²

A diagram of “the 2^d floor consisting of a parlour and bed room ready furnished” which Jefferson occupied is given by Agnes Y. McAllister in *Potter's*, etc., (N) for March, 1875, and is as follows :



Of it, she says: “Mr. Hyman Gratz sketched for my father a plan⁸³ of the house as it was in 1776. This, with some account of the property, which my father had

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collected, and made a note of, he [her father] inserted in his copy of Mr. Biddle's 'Eulogium'. The following is a copy of . . . the note . . . 'The above shows the original plan of the house at the southwest corner of Market and Seventh streets. The two rooms in the second story, having the stairway between them, were occupied by Mr. Jefferson in 1776. In one of these rooms he wrote the Declaration of Independence. The corner house and the two adjoining houses on Market street became the property of Messrs. Simon and Hyman Gratz, merchants, about 1798, and were for many years occupied by them as their place of business. They added a fourth story to the height. They also closed up the door on Seventh street, and removed the stairs.³⁴ The whole of the second story of the corner house is now in one room, but the place where the old stairway came up can be seen by the alteration in the boards of the floor. The corner house was occupied in 1776 by the father of the late Mr. Frederick Graff, who was then an infant. He told me³⁵ that he could remember hearing his parents say that he had often sat on Mr. Jefferson's knee. The sketch of the original plan of the house, from which this copy was made, was drawn for me to-day by Mr. Hyman Gratz. [Signed] John M'Allister, Jr. July 6, 1855.'

The house was torn down in 1883³⁶; and a portion of the eastern³⁷ half of the building used by the Penn National Bank now occupies its site.

Thomas Donaldson, writing³⁸ of its leveling, says: "I paid Mr. Thomas Little, a most genial and reliable man, a nominal sum for the material I selected."³⁹ Mr. Little

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was . . . a soldier with Walker . . . Mr. Robert Gray, his foreman, aided me in every way possible to get material while the building was being demolished. I remained in and about that building from Wednesday, February 28, 1883, until March 12, 1883, when it was leveled to the ground. Much of the material which I took from the building No. 700 Market street, I temporarily placed in the cellar of the store of my friend, Henry Troemner, No. 710 Market street. Now, as a curious fact, I took from a closet in the front room of the third story, some Continental money, many old receipts, some of them as early as 1791, a Hebrew letter to Mr. Gratz, of date 1802, several curious old cork inkstands, and about a quart of small pistol flints, like those used in the Revolution. The nails of the old portion of the house were hand made, and the joists were of cherry, oak, walnut and other rare woods—all of them imported. The outside bricks on Seventh street, and the front, were imported and were laid alternately, black and red. The house had been painted a gray or yellow, thus hiding or covering the original color of the bricks. Some large keys were found, perhaps 150 in all, which I have, and also an ancient door lock, hand made, a work of art, which once adorned the front door of the Jefferson house. Some mantles, stairways and rails were also ancient and rare. All of these articles of any interest, along with window frames, stone caps and sills, old doors and sashes, floors, stringers and wood-work, I took out and now have stored under roof on a lot in Philadelphia.⁴⁰ This material has been there thirteen years.⁴¹ The insurance escutcheon, which was the 'Green Tree,' which

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was on the east wall of No. 700, below the middle second-story window, Mr. Dallett, I think, received. It is a curious fact that while this building was being torn down there were no relic hunters about and no curiosity evinced by spectators. A few antiquarians called and confirmed No. 700 as the house. The only person who asked for a relic was Mr. Augustus R. Hall, of Hall & Carpenter, No. 709 Market street, and he got a joist out of No. 700 Market street house. It was cloudy for five days after the destruction of the building began and no photograph of it was taken. The 'kodak' was not in general use then. I saw Mr. F. Gutekunst, the eminent photographer, about taking some views of it, but it could not then be done . . . The fourth day of the tearing down revealed what I all along had suspected: that No. 700 Market street was the house in which Mr. Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence, *because it was the first house built on the Graff lot*. Mr. S. Hart, Mr. Thomas Little and Mr. Robert Gray were present when I knocked some of the plaster off the west wall of No. 700 Market street, which was the inside of the east side of No. 702 Market street, the house recently claimed⁴² to be the one in which Mr. Jefferson wrote the Declaration. We found that it was the outer wall of No. 700 Market street when it was a single unattached building, because⁴³ the joints between the bricks were struck joints to resist the weather as well as for appearances, a thing which was then never done on an inside wall."

#

The desk upon which Jefferson wrote the Declaration⁴⁴ is now⁴⁵ in the Library of the Department of State.

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It was presented by Jefferson himself to Joseph Coolidge, Jr., in 1825, as shown by a letter of Jefferson, also in the Library of that Department:

[S] Th: Jefferson gives this Writing desk to Joseph Coolidge jun^r as a memorial of affection. it was made from a drawing of his own, by Ben Randall⁴⁶, cabinet maker of Philadelphia, with whom he first lodged on his arrival⁴⁷ in that city in May 1776. and is the identical one on which he wrote the Declaration of Independance. Politics, as well as Religion, has it's superstitions. these gaining strength with time, may, one day, give imaginary value to this relic, for it's association with the birth of the Great charter of our Independance.

Monticello. Nov. 18. 1825.⁴⁸

On April 28, 1880, Congress resolved: "[D¹] That the thanks of this Congress be presented to J. Randolph Coolidge, Algernon Coolidge, Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, and Mrs. Ellen Dwight, citizens of Massachusetts, for the patriotic gift of the writing desk presented by Thomas Jefferson to their father, the late Joseph Coolidge, upon which the Declaration of Independence was written. And be it further resolved, That this precious relic is hereby accepted in the name of the Nation, and that the same be deposited for safe keeping in the Department of State of the United States."

Jefferson's draft, with the minor amendments by John Adams and Franklin, was reported to Congress, Friday, June 28th. The Journal says:

The Com^{es}⁴⁹ appointed to prepare a declaration &c brought in a draught⁵⁰ which was read

Ordered to lie on the table

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VII

THE LAST DAYS¹

[PHM] Fine sunshine, grew very warm, wind Southerly . . . at 4 came on a thunder gust with rain, cleared up by six . . . past 10 fine moon, light and pleasant.

[MsJ] hour	thermom.
9-0 A. M.	81½
7- P. M	82.

On July 1st (Monday), the Journal tells us,

The order of the day being read

Resolved That this Congress will resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the resolution respecting independency

Resolved That the Declaration be referred to said Committee
The

Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole

The president resumed the chair.

M^r Harrison reported that the committee have had under consideration the matters to them referred to and have ^{them} agreed to a resolution² ^{him} ^{report} which they ^{and} ^{to} ^{the determination thereof} ~~ordered to~~ ~~but not hav-~~ ~~ing come to a conclusion~~ desired him to move for leave to sit again
The resolution agreed by committee of the whole being read
was postponed at the request of a Colony till to Morrow

. . .

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Resolved that this Congress will to morrow resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into their farther consideration the declaration respecting independance

Adjourned to 9 o Clock to morrow.

July 1st^{3 4}, therefore, saw the final debate in the committee of the whole upon the initial resolution of June 7th and the adoption of it by that body.

Of the debate, we have no report.⁵

It is certain, however, that Dickinson and John Adams took the "leading roles".

Adams, in his *Autobiography*, says :

[Qy] The Subject had been in Contemplation for more than a Year and frequent discussions had been had concerning it. At one time and another, all the Arguments for it and against it had been exhausted and were become familiar. I expected no more would be said in public but that the question would be put and decided. M^r Dickinson however was determined⁶ to bear his Testimony against it with more formality. He had prepared himself apparently with great labour and ardent Zeal, and in a Speech⁷ of great length, and all his eloquence, he combined together all that had before been written in Pamphlets and Newspapers and all that had from time to time been said in Congress by himself and others. He conducted the debate, not only with great Ingenuity and Eloquence, but with equal Politeness and Candour : and was answered⁸ in the same Spirit. No Member rose to answer him : and after waiting some time, in hopes that some one less obnoxious than myself, who ~~was still~~ had been all along for a Year before, and still was represented and believed to be the Author of all the Mischief, I determined to speak.

It has been said by some of our Historians, that I began by an Invocation to the God of Eloquence. This is a Misrepresentation. Nothing so puerile as this fell from me. I began by say-

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ing that this was the first time of my Life that I had ever wished for the Talents and Eloquence of the ancient orators of Greece and Rome, for I was very sure that none of them ever had before him a question of more Importance to his Country and to the World. They would probably upon less Occasions than [than] this would have begun by solemn Invocations to their Divinities for Assistance but the Question before me appeared so simple, that I had confidence enough in the plain Understanding and common Sense that had been given me, to believe that I could answer to the Satisfaction of the House all the Arguments which had been produced, notwithstanding the Abilities which had been displayed and the Eloquence with which they had been enforced." M^r Dickinson, some Years afterwards published ⁹ his Speech. I had made no Preparation beforehand and never committed any minutes of mine to writing. But if I had a Copy of M^r Dickinson's before me I would now after ~~eight and nine~~ and Twenty Years have elapsed endeavour to recollect mine.

Before the final Question was put the new Delegates from

^{D^r Witherspoon and M^r Hopkinson}

New Jersey came in ¹⁰, and M^r Stockton, ~~one of them~~ a very respectable Characters expressed a great desire to hear the Arguments. All was Silence : No one would speak : all Eyes were

turned upon me. M^r Edward Rutledge ¹¹ came to me and said, ^{laughing}λ

Nobody will speak but you, upon this Subject. You have all the Topicks so ready, that you must satisfy the Gentlemen from New Jersey. I answered him laughing, that it had so much the Air of exhibiting like an Actor or Gladiator for the Entertainment of the Audience, that I was ashamed to repeat what I had said Twenty times before, and I thought nothing new could be advanced by me. The New Jersey Gentlemen however still insisting on hearing at least a Recapitulation of the Arguments and no other Gentleman being willing to speak, I summed up the Reasons Objections and Answers, in as concise a manner, as I could, till at length the Jersey

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Gentlemen said they were fully satisfied and ready for the Question, which was then put and determined in the Affirmative
Mr Jay Mr Duane and Mr William Livingston of New Jersey were not present. But they all acquiesced in the Declaration and steadily supported it ever afterwards.¹⁵

In a letter to Mercy Warren, written at Quincy, August 7, 1807, he tells us :

[QyC] In the previous multiplied debates which we had upon the subject of Independence, the Delegates from New Jersey had voted against us, their Constituents were informed of it and recalled them and sent us a new sett on purpose to vote for Independence. Among those were Chief Justice Stockton and Dr Witherspoon. In a [the] morning when Congress met we expected the question would be put and carried without any further Debate ; because we knew we had a Majority and thought that argument had been exhausted on both sides as indeed it was, for nothing new was ever afterwards advanced on either side. But the Jersey Delegates appearing for the first time, desired that the question might be discussed. We observed to them that the Question was so public and had been so long disputed in Pamphlets News Papers and every Fireside, that they could not be uninformed and must have made up their minds. They said it was true they had not been inattentive to what had been passing abroad, but they had not heard the arguments in Congress, and did not incline to give their opinions untill they should hear the sentiments of Members there. Judge Stockton was most particularly importunate, till the members began to say let the Gentlemen be gratifi'd and the Eyes of the assembly were turned upon me and several other of them said come Mr Adams you have had the subject at heart longer than any of us, and you must recapitulate the arguments. I was somewhat confused at this personal application to me and would have been very glad to be excused ; but as no other person arose after some time I said. " This is the first time of my life when I seriously wished for the genius

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and Eloquence of the celebrated Orators of Athens & Rome. Called in this unexpected and unprepared manner, to exhibit all the arguments in favour of a measure the most important, in my judgment, that ever had been discussed in civil or political society, I had no art or Oratory to exhibit, and could produce nothing but simple reason and plain Common sence. I felt myself oppressed by the weight of the subject: and I believed if Demosthenes or Cicero had ever been called to deliberate on so great a question, neither would have relied on his own Talents without a supplication to Minerva and a Sacrifice to Mercury or the God of Eloquence." All this to be sure was but a flourish; and not as I conceive a very bright Exordium: but I felt awkwardly, but nothing that I said had the most remote resemblance to an "invocation of the God of Eloquence" . . . I wish someone had remembered the speech, for it is almost the only one I ever made that I wish was literally preserved. The Delegates of New Jersey declared themselves perfectly satisfied . . . "Que n'ai je reçu le Genie et L'Eloquence des celebres orateurs d'Athens et de Rome"¹⁸. . . are all the true words of my speech that have ever appeared in Print.

His words written *on the very day of the debate*¹⁴ are still more interesting. In a letter to Bullock, penned evidently before Congress met, he says: "[QyC] This Morning is assigned for the greatest Debate of all"; and, after he has spoken and the vote has been taken in the committee of the whole, he thus answers a letter¹⁵ of Chase:

[QyC] Your favour by the Post this morning gave me much pleasure, but the generous and unanimous vote of your Convention, gave me much more. It was brought into Congress this morning just as we were entering on the great debate. That debate took up most of the day, but it was an idle mispence of

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time, for nothing was said, but what had been repeated and hackneyed in that Room before an hundred times for six months past.

In the Committee of the whole the question was carried in the affirmative, and reported to the House. — A Collony desired it to be postponed until tomorrow, then it will pass by a great Majority, perhaps with almost unanimity; Yet I cannot promise this¹⁶, because one or two Gentlemen may possibly be found who will vote point blank against the known and declared sense of their Constituents. Maryland however, I have the pleasure to inform you, behaved well. — Paca, generously and nobly . . .

If you imagine that I expect this Declaration will ward off calamities from this Country, you are much mistaken. A Bloody conflict we are destined to endure. — This has been my opinion from the beginning.

If you imagine that I flatter myself with happiness and Halcyon days after a separation . . . you are mistaken again . . . But Freedom is a Counter ballance for poverty, discord, and war, and more.¹⁷

It is of John Adams' speech upon this day that Richard Stockton, a son of the Delegate¹⁸, writes (to John Adams), in a letter from Princeton of September 12, 1821: "[Qy] I have just alluded to my Father and shall take leave to mention an anecdote . . . I well remember that on his first return home from Congress in the summer of 1776 after the 4th of July he was immediately surrounded by his anxious political Friends who were eager for minute information in respect of the great event which had just taken place — Being then a Boy of some observation and of very retentive memory I remember these words addressed to his Friends — 'The Man to whom the Country is most indebted for the great meas-

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ure of Independence is M^r John Adams of Boston' — 'I call him the Atlas of American independence' — He it was who sustained the debate, and by the force of his reasonings demonstrated not only the justice but the expediency of the measure' ! This I have often spoken of to others and distinctly remember the very language which he used."

Walton¹⁹, also in a letter to Adams, written at Augusta, Ga., November 7, 1789, says: "[Qy] I can truly assure you, that, since the 1st day of July, 1776, my conduct, in every station in life, has corresponded with the result of that great question which you so ably and faithfully developed on that day—a scene which has ever been present to my mind. It was then that I felt the strongest attachments; and they have never departed from me."

Jefferson, writing, February 19, 1813, to William P. Gardner, tells us: "[P] no man better merited, than m^r John Adams to hold a most conspicuous place in the design²⁰. he was the pillar of it's support on the floor of Congress, it's ablest advocate and defender against the multifarious assaults it encountered." He is reported²¹ to have expressed similar views in 1824: "John Adams was our Colossus on the floor. He was not graceful nor elegant, nor remarkably fluent, but he came out occasionally with a power of thought and expression, that moved us from our seats."²²

Wilson²³ and Witherspoon²⁴ also are said to have spoken.

As to what took place *following* the debate, Jefferson, however, is even more specific than either the Journal or Adams.

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His *notes* say that the resolution was carried in the committee of the whole

in the affirmative by the votes of ²⁵ N. Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusets, Rhode island, N. Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, N. Carolina, & Georgia. S. Carolina and Pennsylvania voted against it. Delaware having but two members present, they were divided; the delegates from New York declared they were for it themselves & were assured their constituents were for it, but that their instructions having been drawn near a twelve-month before, when reconciliation was still the general object, they were enjoined by them to do nothing which should impede that object. they therefore thought themselves not justifiable in voting on either side, and asked leave to withdraw from the question, which ~~they had~~ was given them. the Comm^{tee} rose & reported their resolution to the house. ^{Edward} m^r Rutlege of S. Carolina then ^{requested} ~~desired~~ the determination might be put off to the next day, as he believed his colleagues, tho' they disapproved of the resolution, would then join in it for the sake of unanimity.

To the same effect is his letter, dated August 29, 1787, to the editor of the *Journal of Paris*, replying to an announcement and criticism that day published of a book of M. de Mayer, in which it was stated that America owed her Declaration of Independence to Dickinson. It says :

[P] on the 1. day of July they resolved themselves into a committee of the whole, and resumed the consideration of the motion of June 7. it was debated through the day, and at length was decided in the affirmative by the votes of the 9. states, viz New Hampshire Massachusets, Rhode island, *N. Jersey*, *Maryland*, Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia. Pennsylvania & South Carolina voted against it. Delaware having but

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two members present, was divided. the delegates from New York declared they were for it, & their constituents also: but that the instructions against it which had been given them a twelvemonth before, were still unrepealed; that their convention was to meet in a few days, and they asked leave to suspend their vote till they could obtain a repeal of their instructions. observe that all this was in a committee of the whole Congress, and that according to the mode of their proceedings

Resolution of that Committee to

~~the question whether they would~~ declare themselves independant was to be put to the same persons re-assuming their form as Congress. it was now evening, the members exhausted by a debate of 9 hours, during which all the powers of the soul had been distended with the magnitude of the object, and the delegates of S. Carolina desired that the final decision might be put off to the next morning that they might still weigh in their own minds their ultimate vote. it was put off . . .

Whipple and Bartlett were present from New Hampshire; Sherman and Huntington from Connecticut; Hancock (the President), Samuel and John Adams, Gerry and Paine from Massachusetts; Hopkins and Ellery from Rhode Island; Stockton, Witherspoon, Hopkinson, Hart and Clark from New Jersey; Paca and Stone and probably Rogers from Maryland; Jefferson, Harrison, Nelson, Francis Lightfoot Lee and Braxton from Virginia; Hewes and Penn from North Carolina; and Gwinnett, Hall and Walton from Georgia. Edward Rutledge, Heyward, Thomas Lynch, Jr., and Arthur Middleton were present from South Carolina; and Thomas Lynch, Sr., also was at least in Philadelphia. Franklin, Wilson, Morton, (Dickinson, Robert Morris, Willing and Humphreys) seem to have been present from Pennsylvania. McKean and

the Com^{rs} of the whole Congress to whom we refered the resolution and
upon the Declaration respecting independence. — 17

Resolved - That these ^{united} colonies are and of right
ought to be free and independant states;
that they are absolved from all allegiance
to the British crown and that all political
connection between them and the State of
great Britain is and ought to be totally
dissolved

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Read were present from Delaware. Clinton, Floyd, Wisner, Lewis and Alsop were present from New York. Philip Livingston, we know, expected to leave New York City for Philadelphia on June 30th ; but we do not know when he arrived, except that it was on or before July 3d.

[PHM] Cloudy morning . . . before 10 came on a heavy rain, continued till past 2, cleared up 5 grew warm . . . 11 fine moonlight . . .

[MsJ] 6.	A. M.	78.
9-40'	A. M.	78
9.	P. M.	74

The Journal for July 2d says :

The Congress resumed²⁶ the consideration of the resolution agreed to^{by} & reported from the committee of the whole and the same being read was agreed to²⁷ as follows.

Resolved, That these united colonies are and of right ought to be free and independant states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the british crown and that all political connection between them and the state of great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved.

Agreeable to^{the} order of the day the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole

The presid^t resumed the chair

M^r Harrison reported that the com^{tee} have had under consideration the declaration to them referred but not having had time to go through desired leave to sit again

Resolv^d That this Congress will tomorrow again resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into their farther consideration the declaration ~~to~~th on independance

It thus appears that the initial resolution of June 7th, which was "agreed to by & reported from the committee

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of the whole" on July 1st, was adopted²⁸ by Congress on the 2d.

Jefferson's *notes* say :

S. Carolina concurred in voting for it. in the mean time a third member [Rodney²⁹] had come post³⁰ from the Delaware counties and turned the vote of that colony in favour of the resolution. members of a different sentiment attending that morning from Pennsylvania also, their vote was changed, so that the whole 12. colonies, who were authorized to vote at all, gave their voices for it

His letter to the editor of the *Journal of Paris* says :

[P] . . . in the morning of the 2^d of July they [the Delegates of South Carolina] joined the other nine states in voting for it. The members of the Pennsylvania delegation too, who had been absent the day before, ~~now~~ came in & ^{turned} ~~decided~~ the vote of their state in favor of Independance, and a 3^d member of the state of Delaware, who, hearing of the division in the sentiments of his two colleagues, had travelled post to arrive in time, now came in and decided the votes of that state also for the resolution.

The members present from Pennsylvania *seem* to have been the same as on the 1st, except Dickinson and Robert Morris.

The 2^d of July, and not the 4th, therefore, was the day upon which America *declared*³¹ *her independence* of that nation "whose morning-drum beat," in the language of Daniel Webster, "following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England."

John Adams, writing to his wife on the 3^d³², says: "[Qy] Yesterday the greatest Question was decided,

and are desirous to enter into the service, are requested to send in their applications as early as may be.

Extract from the minutes,

WILLIAM GOVETT, Secretary.

This day the CONTINENTAL CONGRESS declared the UNITED COLONIES FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES.

TO be SOLD, the brigantine TWO FRIENDS. She is a prime sailer, but three years old, and carries

strong made, his colour between a Malatto and a Black, rocks in his walk, or rather somewhat lame, occasioned by his having his thigh bone broke when a boy. Had on when he went away a small brimmed hat, a brown cloth jacket without lining, let out in the back, new low shirt and trousers, old shoes. Whoever takes up and secures said Negro in any jail, so as his master may have him again, shall have the above reward and reasonable charges, paid by the subscriber living in Second Street opposite the Swede's church in the district of Southwark.

WILLIAM THOMAS.

N. B. All masters of vessels and others are forbid to carry said Negro on board, or harbour him at their wharves.

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which ever was debated in America, and a greater perhaps, never was or will be decided among Men. a Resolution was passed without one dissenting Colony, that these united Colonies 'are, and of right ought to be free and independent States . . .' You will see in a few days a Declaration setting forth the Causes, which have impell'd Us to this mighty Revolution, and the Reasons which will justify it, in the Sight of God and Man . . . Britain has been fill'd with Folly, and America with Wisdom . . ." "[Qy] Had the Declaration of Independency been made seven Months ago, it would have been attended with many great and glorious Effects. — — — We might before this Hour, have formed Alliances with foreign States. — We should have mastered Quebec and been in Possession of Canada . . . But on the other Hand, the Delay of this Declaration to this Time, has many great Advantages attending it — The Hopes of Reconciliation, which were fondly entertained by Multitudes of honest and well-meaning tho weak and mistaken People, have been gradually and at last totally extinguished. — Time has been given for the whole People, maturely to consider, the great Question of Independence and to ripen their Judgment, dissipate their Fears and allure their Hopes, by discussing it in News Papers and Pamphletts, by debating it, in Assemblies Conventions, Committees of Safety and Inspection in Town and County Meetings, as well as in private Conversations, so that the whole People in every Colony of the 13 have now adopted it, as their own Act. This will cement the Union, and avoid those Heats and perhaps Convulsions which might have been occasioned, by such a

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Declaration six Months ago. — But the Day is past — The second Day of July 1776, will be the most memorable Epoca, in the History of America. — I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated, by succeeding Generations, as the great anniversary Festival. It ought to be commemorated, as the Day of Deliverence by solemn Acts of Devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with Pomp and Parade with Shews, Games, Sports, Guns, Bells, Bonfires and Illuminations from one End of this Continent to the other from this Time forward forever more. You will think me transported with Enthusiasm but I am not — I am well aware of the Toil and Blood and Treasure, that it will cost Us to maintain this Declaration, and support and defend these States — Yet through all the Gloom I can see the Rays of ravishing Light and Glory. I can see that the End is more than worth all the Means. And that Posterity will triumph in that Days Transactions, even altho We should rue it, which I trust in God We shall not. — ”

It also appears that, on this same day (the 2d), after the adoption of the resolution reported by the committee of the whole, Congress again resolved itself into a committee of the whole and proceeded — as given by Jefferson's *notes* —

to consider the declaration of Independance which had been reported & laid on the table the Friday preceding^{and on Monday referred to a committee of the whole.}.

[PHM] Fine clear & very cool morning to the weather y^t we have had some days past wind Northerly blows fresh . . . came home near 11, fine cool moonlight night . . .

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[Ms] 5-30' A. M.	71½
1-30. P. M.	76
8-10.	74

On July 3d, as shown by the Journal,

Agreeable to the order of the day the congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take into their farther consideration the Declaration

The president resumed the chair & M^r Harrison reported that the com^{ee} not having finished desire leave to sit again
Resolved that this Congress will to morrow resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into their farther consideration the declaration

Adjourned to 9 o Clock tomorrow

[PHM] Fine sunshine pleasant morning wind S. E.

[Ms] 6. A. M.	68.
9.	72½
1. P. M.	76
9.	73½

On the morning of the 4thth of July, Clark writes, to Colonel Elias Dayton: "[PD] At the Time our Forces in Canada were retreating before a Victorious Army, while Gen^l Howe with a Large Armament is Advancing towards N. York, Our Congress Resolved to Declare the United Colonies *Free and independent States*. A Declaration for this Purpose, I expect, will this Day pass Congress, it is nearly gone through, after which it will be Proclaimed with all the State & Solemnity circumstances will admit, It is gone so far that we must now be a free independent State, or a Conquered Country

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. . . no express hath yet come in this morning . . . I wrote you the day before I left home . . . I assure you Sir, Our Congress is an August Assembly — and can they Support the Declaration now on the Anvil, they will be the greatest Assembly on Earth —”

The Journal for the day says :

Agreeable to the order of the day the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take into their farthe[r] consideration the declaration

The president resumed the chair

M^r Harrison reported that the committee of the whole Congress have agreed to a Declaration which he delivered in

The Declaration being again read was agreed to ⁸⁴ as follows

[No writing (in the *rough* Journal) “ follows ” this, the entire lower half of the page (94) being blank.⁸⁵ A *printed* copy ⁸⁶ of the Declaration, *instead*, was inserted. This is attached to the blank half-page by three wafers, forming a triangle, in the left upper corner of the Declaration and on the left side of the page and by a fourth, also near the top of the Declaration but, on the right side of the page — all of the wafers being round and red, and all being between the Declaration and the page save a part of the right hand one of the three forming the triangle.

[In the *corrected* Journal, the Declaration ⁸⁷ is *written out*. It begins on page 639 and ends on page 646.

[The following is at the top of page 95 (in the *rough* Journal) :]

Ordered That the declaration be authenticated & printed ⁸⁸

That the committee appointed to prepare the declaration superintend & correct the press.

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That copies³⁹ of the declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions & committees or councils of safety and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops that it be proclaimed in each of the united states & at the head of the army.

Thus we see that it was *the Declaration*⁴⁰ *itself* — its *substance* and *form* — that was determined on the 4th.⁴¹

Jefferson, in his *notes*, in speaking of the amendments made by Congress (though, of course, we do not know which ones were made on the 2d, which on the 3d or which on the 4th), says:

the pusillanimous idea that we had friends in England worth keeping terms with, still haunted the minds of many. for this reason those passages which conveyed censures on the people of England were struck out, lest they should give them offence. the clause too, reprobating the enslaving the inhabitants of Africa, was struck out in complaisance^{with} South Carolina & Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who on the contrary still wished to continue it. our Northern brethren also I believe felt a little tender ~~on that~~ under those censures; for tho' their people have very few slaves themselves yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others. the debates having taken up the greater parts of the 2^d. 3^d. & 4th. days of July were, in the evening of the last, closed the declaration was reported by the commée, agreed to by the house

uly 3. 4.

As the sentiments of men are known not only by what they receive, but what they reject also, I will state the form of the present
and signed by every member^{present} except m^r Dickinson. [^] declaration as originally reported. ~~is here subjoined~~, the parts ^{struck out} ~~omitted~~ [^] ~~are~~ by Congress ^{shall be} ~~are~~ distinguished by a black line drawn under them;

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& those inserted ^{by them shall be} ~~are~~ placed in the margin or in a concurrent column.

A Declaration by the representatives of the United states of America, in General Congress assembled.

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate & equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

^{^ certain} We hold these truths to be self evident: that all men are created equal⁴²; that they are endowed by their creator with [^]inherent and inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty & the pursuit of happiness⁴³: that to secure

[The following is on the reverse side of page 7:]

8.
these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, & to institute new government, laying it's foundation on such principles, & organizing it's powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety & happiness. prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light & transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. but when a long train of abuses & usurpations [begun at a distinguished period and] pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, & to provide new guards for their future security.

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such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; & such is

now the necessity which constrains^{them} to [^] [expunge] their former systems of government. the history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of [^] [unremitting] injuries & usurpations, [among which appears no solitary fact to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest but all have] [^] in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. to prove this let facts be submitted to a candid world [for the truth of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood.]

^ alter

^ repeated

^ all having

⁴⁴ he has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome & necessary for the public good.

he has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate & pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; & when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

he has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them, & formidable to tyrants only.

he has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

he has dissolved representative houses repeatedly [& continually] for opposing

9.

with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

he has refused for a long time after such dissolutions to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the state remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without & convulsions within.

he has endeavored to prevent the population of these states;

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for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, & raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

^ obstructed
^ by

he has ^ [suffered] the administration of justice [totally to cease in some of these states] ^ refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

he has made [our] judges dependant on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, & the amount & payment of their salaries.

he has erected a multitude of new offices [by a self assumed power] and sent hither swarms of new officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

he has kept among us in times of peace standing armies [and ships of war] without the consent of our legislatures.

he has affected to render the military independant of, & superior to the civil power.

^ in many cases

he has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions & unacknoleged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us; for protecting them by a mock-trial from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states; for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world; for imposing taxes on us with out our consent; for depriving us ^ of the benefits of trial by jury; for transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences; for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary

[The following is on the reverse side of page 9:]

10.

government, and enlarging it's boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these ^ [states]; for taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments; for suspending our own legislatures,

^ colonie

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& declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

he has abdicated government here [^] [withdrawing his governors, and declaring us out of his allegiance & protection]

[^] by declaring u
out of his pro
tection & waging
war against us.

he has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, & destroyed the lives of our people.

he is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation & tyranny already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy [^] unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

scarcely paral
leled in the mos
barbarous ages
& totally

he has constrained our fellow citizens taken captive on the high seas to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends & brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

he has [^] endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, & conditions [of existence.]

excited domesti
insurrections
among us, & hu

[he has excited treasonable insurrections of our fellow-citizens, with the allurements of forfeiture & confiscation of our property.]

he has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating it's most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating & carrying them into slavery ⁴⁶ in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. this piratical warfare, the opprobrium of *infidel* powers, is the warfare of the *Christian* king of Great Britain. determined to keep open a market where *Men* should be bought & sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on

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whom he also obtruded them : thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.]

11.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms : our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injuries.

^ free
a prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be a ruler of a ^ people [who mean to be free. future ages will scarcely believe that the hardiness of one man adventured, within the short compass of twelve years only, to lay a foundation so broad & so undisguised for tyranny over a people fostered & fixed in principles of freedom.]

an unwarrantable
^ us
Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. we have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend ^ [a] jurisdiction over ^ [these our states.] we have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration & settlement here, [no one of which could warrant so strange a pretension : that these were effected at the expence of our own blood & treasure, unassisted by the wealth or strength of Great Britain : that in constituting indeed our several forms of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby laying a foundation for perpetual league & amity with them : but that submission to their parliament was no part of our constitution, nor ever in idea, if history may be credited : and]⁴⁶ we ^⁴⁷ appealed to their native justice and magnanimity x [as well as to] the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations which ^ [were likely to] interrupt our connection and correspondence. they too have been deaf to the voice of justice & of consanguinity, [and when occasions have been given them, by the regular course of their laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they have by their free election, re-established them in power at this very time too they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only souldiers of our common blood,

^ have
and we have
jured them by
would inevitably

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but Scotch⁴⁸ & foreign mercenaries to invade & destroy us. these facts have given the last stab to agonizing affection, and manly spirit bids us to renounce forever these unfeeling brethren. we must endeavor to forget our former love for them, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. we might have been a free and a great people together; but a communication of grandeur & of freedom it seems is below their dignity. be it so, since they will have it. the road to happiness & to glory is open to us too. we will tread it apart from them, and] ^ acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our [eternal] separation ^!

^ we must therefore
^ and hold them as
we hold the rest of
mankind, enemies in
war, in peace friends.

[The following is on the reverse side of page 11:]

12.
We therefore the representatives of the United states of America in General Congress assembled do in the name, & by the authority of the good people of these [states reject & renounce all allegiance & subjection to the kings of Great Britain & all others who may hereafter claim by, through or under them : we utterly dissolve all political connection which may heretofore have subsisted between us & the people or parliament of Great Britain : & finally we do assert & declare these colonies to be free & independant states,] & that as free & independant states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, & to do all other acts & things which independant states may of right do. and for the support of this declaration we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes & our sacred honour.

We therefore the representatives of the United states of America in General Congress assembled, appealing to the supreme judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the name, & by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish & declare that these United colonies are & of right ought to be free & independant states ; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them & the state of Great Britain is, & ought to be, totally dissolved ; & that as free & independant states they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce & to do all other acts & things which independant states may of right do. and for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes & our sacred honour.

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Jefferson evidently was not pleased at these amendments⁴⁹; for he writes, to R. H. Lee, July 8th: “⁵⁰ For news I refer you to your brother [Francis Lightfoot Lee] who writes on that head. I inclose you a copy of the Declaration of Independance as agreed to by the house, & also as originally framed. you will judge whether it is the better or worse for the critics. I shall return to Virginia after the 11th of Aug. I wish my succesor may be certain to come before that time. in that case I shall hope to see you & m^r Wythe⁵¹ in Convention, that the buiness of government which is of everlasting concern may receive your aid.”

Nor, if he himself can be believed, did he accept them with the stoicism of a born-politician; for, in a letter⁵² to Robert Walsh, written at Monticello, December 4, 1818, he says: “[P] I state a few anecdotes of D^r Franklin, within my own knolege,” among which is the following: “[P] When the Declaration of Independance was under the consideration of Congress, there were two or three unlucky expressions in it which gave offence to some members. The words “Scotch and other foreign auxiliaries” excited the ire of a gentleman or two of that country. severe strictures on the conduct of the British king, in negating our repeated repeals of the law which permitted the importation of slaves, were disapproved by some Southern gentlemen, whose reflections were not yet matured to the full abhorrence of that traffic. altho’ the offensive expressions were immediately yielded, these gentlemen continued their depredations on other parts of the instrument. I was sitting⁵³ by D^r Franklin, who perceived that I was not insensible to these mutilations. “I have made it a rule, said he, whenever in my power,

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to avoid becoming the draughtsman of papers to be reviewed by a public body. I took my lesson from an incident which I will relate to you. when I was a journeyman printer, one of my companions, an apprentice Hatter, having served out his time, was about to open shop for himself. his first concern was to have a handsome sign-board, with a proper inscription. he composed it in these words "John Thompson, *Hatter, makes and sells hats for ready money,*" with a figure of a hat subjoined. but he thought he would submit it to his friends for their amendments. the first he shewed it to thought the word "*Hatter,*" tautologous, because followed by the words "makes hats" which shew he was a Hatter. it was struck out. the next observed that the word "*makes*" might as well be omitted, because his customers would not care who made the hats. if good & to their mind, they would buy, by whomsoever made. he struck it out. a third said he thought the words "*for ready money,*" were useless as it was not the custom of the place to sell on credit. every one who purchased expected to pay. they were parted with, and the inscription now stood "John Thomson sells hats." "*sells hats*" says his next friend? why nobody will expect you to give them away. what then is the use of that word? it was stricken out, and "*hats*" followed it, the rather, as there was one painted on the board. so his inscription was reduced ultimately to "John Thomson" with the figure of a hat subjoined."

We have the opinions of a few others also of the amendments. Bartlett writes, July 1st: "The Declaration before Congress is, I think, a pretty good one. I hope it will not be spoiled by canvassing in Congress."

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Mrs. Abigail Adams', R. H. Lee's and Pendleton's letters of July 14th, July 21st and August 10th, respectively, are given elsewhere.⁵⁴ John Adams, in his letter of 1822 to Pickering, says: "[Ms] Congress cut off about a quarter part of it, as I expected they would, but they obliterated some of the best of it and left all that was exceptionable, if anything⁵⁵ in it was. I have long wondered that the original draft has not been published. I suppose the reason is the vehement Phillipic against Negro Slavery."

"[H] It was two o'clock⁵⁶ in the afternoon", says Lossing⁵⁷ (though upon what authority he does not state, and, we think, with little, if any, warrant), "when the final decision⁵⁸ was announced by Secretary Thomson . . . when the secretary sat down, a deep silence pervaded that august assembly. Thousands of anxious citizens had gathered in the streets⁵⁹ . . . From the hour when Congress convened in the morning, the old bellman had been in the steeple. He placed a boy at the door below, to give him notice when the announcement should be made. As hour succeeded hour, the gray-beard shook his head, and said, 'They will never do it! they will never do it!' Suddenly a loud shout came up from below, and there stood the blue-eyed boy, clapping his hands and shouting, 'Ring! ring!' Grasping the iron tongue of the old bell⁶⁰ . . . backward and forward he hurled it a hundred times, its loud voice proclaiming 'Liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof.' The excited multitude in the streets responded with loud acclamations, and with cannon-peals, bonfires, and illuminations, the patriots held glorious carnival that night in the quiet city of Penn."

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VIII

NEW YORK AND PENNSYLVANIA

LET us take a brief glance at the situation in New York and in Pennsylvania.

The Provincial Congress of New York convened in the Assembly Chamber of the City Hall in New York City on May 14th. On the 15th, Alsop was present; and, five days later, Francis Lewis appeared.

Jay also had been elected to this Congress and had left¹ Philadelphia; and Duane², who had remained there, sent him a copy of the resolution of Congress of May 15th³ on the day after its publication, and R. R. Livingston (also at Philadelphia) wrote⁴ him concerning it on the next day.

On the 18th, Duane again wrote him, saying: "[Z] I wrote you, my dear Sir, a hasty scrawl by the post on a most important subject. You know the Maryland Instructions⁵ and those⁶ of Pennsylvania. I am greatly in doubt whether either of their Assemblies or Conventions will listen to a recommendation the preamble of which so openly avows independence & separation. The lower Counties[Delaware] will probably adhere to Pennsylvania. New Jersey you can gain a good judgment of from the reception this important

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Resolution has met with. . The orators of Virginia with Col. Henry⁷ at their head are against a Change of Government; the body of the people, Col. Nelson, on whose authority⁸ you have this sent, thinks are for it . . . There seems therefore no reason that our Colony shou'd be too precipitate in changing the present mode of Government. I wou'd first be well assured of the opinion of the Inhabitants at large. Let them be rather followed than driven on an occasion of such moment. But, above all, let us see the conduct of the middle Colonies before we come to a decision: It cannot injure us to wait a few weeks: the advantage will be great for this trying question will clearly discover the true principles & the extent of the Union of the Colonies."

Following (doubtless) — May 24th⁹ — the receipt of this letter, Jay also attended upon the Provincial Congress; and, on the last day of the month, this body called upon the people to elect Deputies to a Convention (to meet, July 9th), authorized to act upon the question of the formation of a new government (for New York).

A letter dated New York City the same day (May 31st) says: "I do not learn that a word has been said in our Convention [Provincial Congress] upon the subject of a Declaration of Independence . . ."

The "Committee of Mechanics in union", however, of which Lewis Thibou was chairman, sitting at Mechanic Hall in the same city, *two days before* (the 29th), "for ourselves and our constituents, hereby publicly declare[d] that, should you, gentlemen of our honourable Provincial Congress, think proper to instruct our most honourable Delegates in Continental Congress to use their utmost

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endeavours in that august assembly to cause these United Colonies to become independent of Great Britain, it would give us the highest satisfaction; and we hereby sincerely promise to endeavour to support the same with our lives and fortunes."

This address was answered by the Provincial Congress, June 4th: "We . . . cannot presume to instruct the Delegates of this Colony on the momentous question to which your address refers, until we are informed it is brought before the Continental Congress, and the sense of this Colony be required through this Congress."

Scarcely had the ink dried upon this answer, when — the next day — a copy of the resolution of the Convention of Virginia of May 15th, directing her Delegates to *propose* to Congress to declare independence, reached New York and was read in the Provincial Congress. This was two days before R. H. Lee offered in Congress the initial resolution in accordance with these instructions. Francis Lewis, and doubtless Alsop, had departed for Philadelphia¹⁰; but Jay was still present.

Three days later, Philip Livingston¹¹ appeared in the Provincial Congress; and, on the 10th¹², the President, Nathaniel Woodhull, received a letter from Floyd, Wisner, R. R. Livingston and Francis Lewis (who had lately arrived), dated Philadelphia, June 8th, which said: "Your Delegates here expect the question of Independence will very shortly¹³ be agitated in Congress. Some of us consider ourselves as bound by our instructions not to vote on that question. The matter will admit of no delay. We have, therefore, sent an express, who will wait your orders." This was read at once "with closed

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doors", and, in the evening, was discussed — both Jay and Philip Livingston being present.

On the evening of the next day (the 11th), Jay introduced several resolutions (seconded by Henry Remsen), which, after being amended, were adopted. The amended resolutions set forth that the *Provincial Congress* had no power to take any action whatever on the subject of independence but that it could and did recommend "to all the Freeholders and other Electors in this Colony, at the ensuing election, to be held in pursuance of a Resolution, of the [Provincial] Congress of the 31st day of May last past . . . [besides authorizing their Deputies to vote upon the subject of a government] to inform their said Deputies of their sentiments relative to the great question of Independency . . ."

At the same time, Jay and Remsen were directed to draft a reply to the letter of the Delegates. This draft, which seems to have been adopted as drawn, reads as follows: ". . . the [Provincial] Congress . . . are unanimously of opinion that you are not authorized by your instructions to give the sense of this colony on the question of declaring it to be, and continue, an independent State; nor does this Congress incline to instruct you on that point; it being a matter of doubt whether their constituents intended to vest them with a power to deliberate and determine on that question. Indeed, the majority of this Congress are clearly of the opinion that they have no such authority."

Francis Lewis, R. R. Livingston, Alsop¹⁴, Floyd and Wisner, in acknowledging it (June 17th¹⁵), in a letter in the handwriting of Livingston, said: "[A] We rec^d great pleasure from knowing the sentiment of the hon:

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the Convention [Provincial Congress], relative to the important subject on which we thought it our duty to ask their opinion. We are very happy in having it in our power to assure them, that we have hitherto taken no steps inconsistent with their intention as expressed in their letter, by which we shall be careful to regulate our future¹⁶ Conduct.—”

Nothing further was done in New York¹⁷ until the meeting of the Convention¹⁸—at the Court House in White Plains—on July 9th¹⁹.

A letter and a note, as well as a second letter and a copy of the Declaration of Independence,—received meanwhile from Philadelphia—were then laid before that body.

The first letter—in the handwriting of Clinton, dated July 2d and signed by Clinton, Wisner, Floyd, Francis Lewis and Alsop—said: “[Al;—] The important Question of Independency was agitated *yesterday*²⁰ in a Committee of the whole Congress, and this Day will be finally determined in the House—We know the Line of our Conduct on this Occasion; we have your Instructions, and will faithfully pursue them—New Doubts and Difficulties however will arise should Independency be declared; and that it will not, we have not the least Reason to expect nor do we believe that (if any) more than one Colony (and the Delegates of that divided) will vote against the Question; every Colony (ours only excepted) having withdrawn their former Instructions, and either positively instructed their Delegates to vote for Independency; or concur in such Vote if they shall judge it expedient—What Part are we to act after

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this Event takes Place; every Act we join in may then be considered as in some Measure acceding to the Vote of Independency and binding our Colony on that Score . . . We wish therefore for your earliest Advice & Instructions whether we are to consider our Colony bound by the Vote of the Majority in Favour of Independency and vote at large on such Questions as may arise in Consequence thereof or only concur in such Measures as may be absolutely necessary for the Common safety & defence of America exclusive of the Idea of Independency — We fear it will be difficult to draw the Line; but once possessed of your Instructions we will use our best Endeavours to follow them — ”

The note — in the handwriting of Wisner, also dated the 2d and signed by Wisner — said : “[Al] Since Writing the inclosed the question of independance has Been put in Congress and Carried in the afirmative without one Desenting vote [New York, of course, not voting] I therefore Beg your answer as quick as posable to the inclosed[.] ”

The second letter ²¹, which enclosed the copy ²¹ of the Declaration, was dated (probably) the 5th.

The Declaration was entered in full on the minutes and was then — together with the letters and the note — referred to a committee, composed of Jay, Abraham Yates, John Sloss Hobart, Abraham Brasher and William Smith.

The committee reported a resolution ²² *that very evening*, which was at once adopted. It read : “ Resolved, unan-
imously, That the reasons assigned by the Continental Congress for declaring the United Colonies free and independent States, are cogent and conclusive; and that

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while we lament the cruel necessity which has rendered that measure unavoidable, we approve the same, and will, at the risk of our lives and fortunes, join with the other colonies in supporting it. Resolved, That a copy of said Declaration, and the foregoing Resolution, be sent to the Chairman of the Committee of the County of Westchester, with orders to publish the same with beat of drum, at this place, on Thursday next, and to give directions that it be published with all convenient speed in the several Districts within the said County, and that copies thereof be forthwith transmitted to the other ²³ County Committees within the State of New-York, with orders to cause the same to be published in the several Districts of their respective Counties. Resolved, That five hundred copies ²⁴ of the Declaration of Independence, with the two last-mentioned Resolutions of this Congress for approving and proclaiming the same, be published in handbills, and sent to all the County Committees in this State. Resolved, That the Delegates of this State in Continental Congress, be, and they are hereby, authorized to consent to and adopt all such measures as they may deem conducive to the happiness and welfare of the United States of America. Ordered, That copies of the aforesaid Resolutions be transmitted ²⁵ to the Continental Congress."

We have already ²⁶ followed the course of events in Pennsylvania to the close of the 7th of June — the day when R. H. Lee introduced into Congress the initial resolution respecting independence.

On the next day (Saturday), the *Assembly* "resumed the consideration of the Instructions to the Delegates of

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this Province in Congress; which, being gone through, and approved of²⁷, were ordered to be transcribed. A Member proposed to the House, and read in his place, a resolution, as a further instruction to the Delegates; which, being seconded, was postponed to Tuesday next for consideration."

Meanwhile — on Monday, the 10th —, the *military* met²⁸, both in Philadelphia and elsewhere in the Colony. Of the First and Second Battalions, one thousand persons were present, and, "²⁹with only 24 dissentients in the First, and two in the Second Battalion," approved the resolution of Congress of May 15th and the proceedings of the public gathering of the 20th. At the meeting of the Third Battalion, the Lieutenant-Colonel refused to put the questions proposed to the First and Second; and this "gave great umbrage to the men, one of whom replied to him in a genteel spirited manner: 'How our Delegates in Congress may act we know not, though we have a right to know, and intend to promote an inquiry for that purpose. The Counties, such as we have heard from, are for a Convention. The Committee of Bucks County have appointed Deputies to the Conference to be held in this City on the 18th instant.'" The Fourth Battalion assembled "on the usual place of parade" — the Colonel (M:Kean) and the other officers and the privates of nine companies being present. M:Kean "informed them that since he had proposed this meeting . . . he had been waited upon" with a resolution of the 6th of the committee of privates of the five battalions and that he was happy "to find that his own idea of the propriety of this measure was supported by so respectable a body as

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the Committee of Privates." The resolution of Congress of May 15th and the proceedings of the public meeting on the 20th were then read and unanimously approved. Following this, the question was put, "Whether they wish the Province of Pennsylvania to be a free and independent State, and united with the other twelve Colonies represented in Congress?"; and this also was carried unanimously in the affirmative. Similar evidence of loyalty to the cause was given by the Fifth Battalion, of which Timothy Matlack was Colonel, by the First Battalion of Chester County, of which Moore was Colonel, and by Colonel James Crawford's Battalion, which met at its place of parade in Leacock Township, Lancaster County.

This meeting (of the military) had a great effect upon the Assembly. Neither in the morning nor in the afternoon had they a quorum; and, on the 11th — the day to which the "further instruction to the Delegates" had been postponed and the day on which Congress selected a committee to draft the Declaration of Independence — and on the 12th also — both in the morning and in the afternoon —, they met, and still without a quorum. On the morning of the 13th, again nothing was done; and, in the afternoon, there was again no quorum. The next day (Friday, the 14th), they paid the Delegates to Congress; and, at 3 o'clock, "The Instructions . . . being transcribed according to order, were signed by the Speaker [John Morton] . . ." These read as follows: "When, by our instructions of last November, we strictly enjoined you, in behalf of this Colony, to dissent from, and utterly reject any proposition, should such be made, that might

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cause or lead to a separation from Great Britain . . . our restrictions [arose] . . . from an earnest desire to serve the good people of Pennsylvania with fidelity . . . The situation of publick affairs is since so greatly altered, that we now think ourselves justifiable in removing the restrictions laid upon you by those instructions." They then adjourned³⁰ to August 26th at 4 o'clock.

The Provincial Conference of the committees of Pennsylvania met in Carpenters' Hall four days later (June 18th), "in consequence of a Circular Letter from the Committee of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia, enclosing a Resolution of the Continental Congress of the 15th May last." M:Kean, Matlack, Rush, John Bull and James Smith were among those present. M:Kean, as chairman of the "City Committee, declared the motives which had induced that Committee to propose the hearing" and was then chosen President.

On the 19th, 97 members being present, the resolution of Congress of May 15th was approved; and it was resolved "That the present Government of this Province is not competent to the exigencies of our affairs . . . That it is necessary that a Provincial Convention be called by this Conference for the express purpose of forming a new Government in this Province, on the authority of the People only."

On the 23d ("P. M."), "On motion, [it was] unanimously³¹ Ordered, That the Chairman, Dr. Rush, and Colonel Smith, be a Committee to draft a Resolution declaring the sense of the Conference with respect to the Independence of this Province on the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain, and report to-morrow morning."

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The proceedings of the Conference for June 24th ("P. M.") show that the committee "brought in a draft of a Declaration on the subject of . . . Independence . . . which was ordered to be read, by special order. The same was read a second time, and, being fully considered, it was, with the greatest unanimity of all the Members, agreed to . . ." This draft declared "our willingness to concur in a vote of the Congress declaring the United Colonies free and independent States"; and it was "Ordered, that this Declaration be signed at the table and that the President deliver it in Congress." It was read in Congress on the evening of the 25th.³²

Nothing further occurred in Pennsylvania until Monday, *July* 8th³³ — four days *after* the adoption of the Declaration by Congress. On that day, the elections were held for Delegates to the Convention. John Adams, writing, July 10th, to his wife, says: "The new Members of this city [Philadelphia] are all . . . chosen because of their inflexible zeal for Independence. All the old Members left out because they opposed Independence, or at least were lukewarm about it. Dickinson, Morris, Allen, all fallen, like grass before the scythe notwithstanding all their vast advantages in point of fortune, family, and abilities . . . I am inclined to think, however, and to wish that these gentlemen may be restored at a fresh election, because, although mistaken in some points, they are good characters, and their great wealth and numerous connexions will contribute to strengthen America, and cement her Union. I wish I were at perfect liberty to portray before you all these

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characters in their genuine lights, and to explain to you the course of political changes in this Province. It would give you a great idea of the spirit and resolution of the people, and show you, in a striking point of view, the deep roots of American Independence in all the Colonies."

The Convention, which took its power *direct* from the *people*, met in the State House on Monday, July 15th — the day when the new instructions to the New York Delegates were read by Hancock to Congress. Franklin, James Smith, Clymer and Ross were among those present. Franklin³⁴ was chosen President. On the 20th, it elected³⁵ Franklin, Ross³⁶, Clymer³⁶, Robert Morris³⁷, Wilson, Morton, Rush^{36 38}, James Smith^{36 39} and George Taylor³⁸ as Delegates to Congress. According to the Journal, they produced their credentials in Congress on the same day.⁴⁰

A committee composed of Matlack, Thomas Smith, James Cannon, David Rittenhouse and Bull was appointed — also on the 20th — to draft instructions. These instructions, adopted on the 26th, strictly charged the Delegates "not to agree to, or enter into any treaty of commerce or alliance with Great Britain, or any other foreign Power, but (on the part of America) as free and independent States."

On the 25th, the Convention approved of the "Declaration of Congress of the 4th" and declared "that we will support and maintain the freedom and independence of this and the other United States of America at the utmost risk of our lives and fortunes."

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IX

THE SIGNING

M:KEAN maintains that "no person signed" the Declaration on July 4th; and his views, as set forth in¹ a letter² to Messrs. Wm. M'Corkle & Son and in a letter³ to John Adams, were published in *Niles' Weekly Register* (N) of June 28 and July 12⁴, respectively, 1817. The latter letter, written in January, 1814, when, as he himself declares, his sight was fading fast, though his writing might not discover it, says:

[Qy] I will give you an historical fact respecting the declaration of Independence, which may amuse, if not surprize.

On the 1st of July 1776 the question was taken ^{in the} ~~by a~~ committee of the whole of Congress, when Pennsylvania, represented by seven members then present, voted against it; 4 to 3; among the majority were Robert Morris & John Dickinson. Delaware having only two present, namely myself & M^r Read, was divided: all⁵ the other States voted in favor of it. The report was delayed until the 4th⁶ and in the mean time I sent an express⁷ for Cæsar Rodney⁸ to Dover in the county of Kent in Delaware, at my private expence, whom I met at the State-house door on the 4th of July in his boots⁹; he resided eighty miles from the city, and just arrived as Congress met. The question was taken, Delaware voted in favor of Independence¹⁰, Pennsylvania there being only five members present, Mess^{rs} Dickinson¹¹ & Morrison¹²

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absent voted also for it; Mess^{rs} Willing & Humphries¹⁸ were against it. Thus the thirteen States were unanimous¹⁴ in favor of Independence. Notwithstanding this, in the printed public journal of Congress for 1776, vol. 2, it appears, that the Declaration of Independence was ~~signed~~^{declared} on the 4th of July 1776 by the Gentlemen, whose names are there inserted¹⁵, whereas no person signed¹⁶ it on that day, and among the names there inserted, one gentleman, namely George Read Esquire, was not in favor of it; and seven were not in Congress on that day, namely Mess^{rs} Morris, Rush, Clymer, Smith, Taylor & Ross, all of Pennsylvania, and M^r Thornton of New-Hampshire; nor were the six Gentlemen last named members of Congress on the 4th of July. The five for Pennsylvania were appointed Delegates by the Convention of that State on the 20th July, and M^r Thornton took his seat in Congress for the first time on the 4th November following: when the names of Henry Wisner¹⁷ of New-York and Thomas M^r Kean¹⁸ of Delaware, are not printed as subscribers, tho' both were present in Congress on the 4th of July & voted for Independence.

Here false colours are certainly hung out; there is culpability somewhere: what I have heard as an explanation is as follows; when the declaration was voted, it was ordered to be ingrossed on parchment and then signed, and that a few days afterw^d a resolution was entered¹⁹ on the secret journal, that no person should have a seat in Congress during that year until he should have signed the declaration of independence. After the 4th²⁰ July I was not in congress for several months²¹, having marched with a regiment of associators as Colonel to support General Washington, until the flying camp of ten thousand men was completed. When the associators were discharged, I returned to Philadelphia, took my seat in Congress & signed my name to the declaration on parchment.²² This transaction should be truly stated, and the then secret journal should be made public. In

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the manuscript journal, M^r Pickering, then Secretary of State, and myself saw a *printed half sheet of paper* ²³, with the names of the members afterwards in the printed journals stitched in. We examined the parchment where my name is signed in my own hand-writing. —

Jefferson's *notes*, however, say :

²⁴ the debates having taken up the greater parts of the 2^d 3^d & 4th days of July were, in the evening of the last, closed ²⁵ the declaration was reported by the comm^{tee} ²⁶, agreed to by the house and signed by every member ^{present} ²⁷ except m^r Dickinson.

Indeed, in a letter to Samuel W. Wells, written (in 1819) two years after the publication ²⁸ of the letters of M^r Kean, he quotes these *notes* and says that the Declaration "was signed by every member present, except m^r Dickinson", on July 4th.

Wells, at Boston, had written him, under date of April 14th : "[S] The imperfect record of the proceedings of the congresses prior to the Declaration of Independence, has buried in obscurity much important information . . . Thus we are taught to believe that the question of the declaration was passed unanimously ; but by mr Galloways examination before a Committee of the British parliament on American affairs, an account of which was published in London in 1779, it appears: 'That the debates lasted nearly a fortnight and when the question was put, six Colonies divided against six ; the delegates for Pennsylvania being also divided, the question remained undecided. However, one of the members of that colony who had warmly opposed it being wrought up by mr [Samuel] Adams' art, changed his opinion,

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and upon the question the next day it was carried in the affirmative by a single vote only.' This is a very different account from that given in the printed journals, which we know to be incorrect particularly as it respects the time when it is stated to have been passed and the signatures attached to it . . . It has been stated . . . That on the question of the Declaration of Independence, he [Samuel Adams] spoke several hours, and that the arguments he adduced in its support were so cogent and conclusive, that he brought over some of those who were against it, and thereby secured its success? These assertions were made by the late Judge Paine. — ”

Jefferson's letter²⁹, dated Monticello, May 12th, is as follows :

[P] An absence of some time at an occasional and distant residence must apologise for the delay in acknowledging the receipt of your favor of Apr. 12. and candor obliges me to add that it has been somewhat extended by an aversion to writing, as well as to calls on my memory for facts so much obliterated from it by time as to lessen my own confidence in the traces which seem to remain . . .

I will now proceed to your quotation from m^r Galloway's statement of what passed in Congress on their declaration of independance in which statement there is not one word of truth, and where bearing^{some} resemblance to truth, it is an entire perversion of it. I do not charge this on m^r Galloway himself, his desertion having taken place³⁰ long before these measures, he doubtless³¹ received his information from some of the loyal friends he left behind him, but as yourself as well as others appear embarrassed by inconsistent accounts of the proceedings on that memorable occasion, and as those³² who have endeavored to restore the truth have themselves committed some errors, I will

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give you some extracts from a written document⁸⁸ on that subject; for the truth of which I pledge myself to heaven and earth; having, while the question of Independance was under consideration before Congress, taken written notes, in my seat, of what was passing, and reduced them to form on the final conclusion. I have now before me that paper, from which the following are extracts.

‘On Friday the 7th of June 1776. the delegates from Virginia moved, in obedience to instructions from their constituents, that the Congress should declare that these United colonies are, and of right ought to be, free & independant states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, & that all political connection between them and the state of Gr. Britain is, & ought to be totally dissolved; that measures should be immediately taken for procuring the assistance of foreign powers, and a Confederation be formed to bind the colonies more closely together. the house being obliged to attend at that time to some other business, the proposition was referred to the next day when the members were ordered to attend punctually at ten oclock. Saturday June 8. they proceeded to take it into consideration, and referred it to a committee of the whole, into which they immediately resolved themselves, & passed that day and Monday the 10th in debating on the subject.

It appearing in the course of these debates that the colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pensylva, Delaware, Maryland & South Carolina were not yet matured for falling from the parent stem, but that they were fast advancing to that state, it was thought most prudent to wait awhile for them, and to postpone the finel decision to July 1. but, that this might occasion as little delay as possible, a committee was appointed to prepare a Declaration of Independance. the committee were J. Adams. D^r Franklin, Roger Sherman, Robert R. Livingston and myself. this was reported to the house on Friday the 28th of June when it was

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read and ordered to lie on the table. on Monday the 1st of July the house resolved itself into a committee of the whole, and resumed the consideration of the original motion made by the delegates of Virginia, which being again debated thro' the day, was carried in the affirmative by the votes of N. Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode-island, N. Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, N. Carolina and Georgia. South Carolina and Pennsylvania voted against it. Delaware having but two members present, they were divided. the delegates from N. York declared they were for it themselves, and were assured their constituents were for it; but that their instructions having been drawn near a twelve-month before, when reconciliation was still the general object, they were enjoined by them to do nothing which should impede that object. they therefore thought themselves not justifiable in voting on either side, & asked leave to withdraw from the question, which was given them. the Committee rose, and reported their resolution to the house. m^r Rutledge of S. Carolina then requested the determination might be put off to the next day, as he believed his colleagues, tho' they disapproved of the resolution, would then join in it for the sake of unanimity. the ultimate question whether the House would agree to the resolution of the Committee was accordingly postponed to the next day, when it was again moved & South Carolina concurred in voting for it, in the meantime a 3^d member had come post from the Delaware counties, and turned the vote of that colony in favor of the resolution. members of a different sentiment attending that morning from Pennsylvania also, their vote was changed; so that the whole 12. colonies, who were authorised to vote at all, gave their votes for it, and within a few days [July 9.]³⁴ the convention of N. York approved of it, and thus supplied the void occasioned by the withdrawing of their delegates from the vote.' [be careful ~~that~~ to observe that this vacillation and vote was on the original motion of

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the 7th of June by the Virginia delegates that Congress should declare the colonies independant.] ‘ Congress proceeded the same day to consider the Declaration of Independance which had been reported and laid on the table the Friday preceding, and on Monday referred to a Committee of the whole. the pusillanimous idea that we had friends in England worth keeping terms with, still haunted the minds of many. for this reason those passages which conveyed censures on the people of England were struck out, lest they should give them offence. — the debates having taken up the greater parts of the 2^d 3^d and 4th days of July, were, in the evening of the last, closed: the Declaration was reported by the Committee, agreed to by the House, and signed by every member^{present} except m^r Dickinson.’ so far my notes.

Governor M^cKean⁸⁶, in his letter⁸⁶ to M^cCorkle of July [June] 16. 1817. has thrown some lights on the transactions of that day: but trusting to his memory chiefly at an age when our memories are not to be trusted, he has confounded two questions, and ascribed proceedings to one which belonged to the other. these two questions were 1. the Virginia motion ~~which was voted on that day~~, of June 7. to declare independance, and 2. the actual Declaration, its matter and form. thus he states the question on — the declaration itself as decided on the 1st of July — but it was the Virginia motion which was voted on that day in committee of the whole; — South Carolina, as well as Pensylvania^{then}, voting against it. but the ultimate decision in *the House* on the report of the committee being by request postponed to the next morning, all the states voted for it, except New York, whose vote was delayed for the reason before stated. it was not till the 2^d of July that the Declaration itself was taken up; nor till the 4th that it was decided; and it was signed by every⁸⁷ member^{present}⁸⁸, except m^r Dickinson.

The subsequent signatures of members who were not then present, and some of them not yet in office, is easily explained, if

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we observe who they were; to wit that they were of N. York and Pennsylvania. N. York³⁹ did not sign till the 15th ⁴⁰ because it was not till the 9th ⁴¹ (5 days after the general signature) that their Convention authorised them to do so. the Convention of Pennsylvania, learning that it had been signed by a minority⁴² only of their delegates, named a new delegation⁴³ on the 20th leaving out⁴⁴ m^r Dickinson who had refused⁴⁵ to sign, Willing⁴⁶ & Humphreys who had withdrawn, reappointing the 3. members who had signed, Morris who had not been present⁴⁷, & 5 new ones, to wit, Rush, Clymer, Smith, Taylor & Ross: and Morris and the 5 new members were permitted to sign⁴⁸, because it manifested the assent of their full delegation, and the express will of their convention, which might have been doubted on the former signature of a minority only. why the signature⁴⁹ of Thornton of New Hampshire was permitted so late as the 4th of November, I cannot now say; but undoubtedly for some particular reason⁵⁰, which we should find to have been good had it been expressed. these were the only⁵¹ post-signers, and you see, Sir, that there were solid reasons for receiving those of N. York and Pennsylvania, and ^{that} this circumstance, in no wise affects the faith of this Declaratory charter of our rights, and of the rights of man.

With a view to correct errors of fact before they become inveterate by repetition, I have stated what I find essentially material in my papers, but with that brevity which the labor of writing constrains me to use.

Wells writes again, June 2d: "[S] The information which you were so kind as to communicate to me . . . has explained some circumstances that were confused and mysterious; among them is the fact that m^r R. R. Livingston who was one of the committee selected to draft the declaration, was not among the number of its signers; and it is still rather a singular occurrence, that he should

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have consented to be one of a Committee, whose proceedings he did not conceive that the instructions of his constituents would authorize him to approve of. The error into which governor M^cKean had fallen on this subject, may also have been, in part, that of mr Galloway. viz. the confounding of the *declaration*, with the *motion* for independence. Your letter informs me, that in the course of the debates this motion that six Colonies 'were not yet matured for falling from the parent stem, but as they were fast advancing to that state, it was thought prudent to wait awhile for them, and to postpone the final decision to July 1.' Although it does not appear by this, that a vote was taken upon the question at this time yet, I conclude there must have been as I cannot see how the state of opinion could otherwise be accurately obtained . . . If this be fact, it must be true, that the motion for independence was passed by a majority of one vote only. Before I had seen the statement of mr Galloway, I had been informed by many persons who yet live, of some remarks that were made by the late Judges Paine and Chase of nearly the same import, as it regarded my grandfather, and I concluded that mr Galloway had nearly given the particulars of the case. But he was evidently wrong in stating that the vote which was determined in favor of the question, was that of Pennsylvania. It may have been Georgia, or North Carolina. If, therefore, this question in its *first stage*, was determined by the vote of one Colony, it may have been effected by the vote of one delegate of any particular Colony that may have been equally divided, and this vote obtained as he states, by the exertions of some member, who was par-

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ticularly ardent in its favor. If, then, either Georgia, or North Carolina, which are the only two Colonies that I can think it probable any division of sentiment existed [in ⁶²] had been named instead of Pennsylvania, mr Gallo-ways statement could then have been reconciled to yours, which must be considered the only standard . . . The painting ⁶³ executed by col. Trumbull, representing the Congress at the declaration of independence, will, I fear, have a tendency to obscure the history of the event which it is designed to commemorate . . . I confess, that I am not a little surprised at the favorable reception, which this badly executed performance has met, from the public. I will frankly avow that I was much disappointed at not finding it (according to my idea) executed in a style worthy of the subject. I expressed my opinions with freedom on the work, through the medium of the newspapers under the signature of *Historicus* . . . It was by investigating this subject, that I discovered the discrepancies in the printed journals, of Congress on this memorable event . . .”

To this, Jefferson responds, June 23d: “[P] you suppose that the fact that six colonies were not yet matured for a separation from the parent stock could not have been known unless a vote had been taken, yet nothing easier, for the opinion of every individual was known to every one who had anxiety enough on the subject to scrutinise and calculate. there was neither concealment nor reserve on the subject on either side; and how the vote of each colony would be, if then pushed to a vote was exactly ascertainable . . . I certainly will not, on the authority of memory alone affirm facts in opposition

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to m^r Galloway, judge M^cKain, or any one else. but what I wrote on the paper from which I sent extracts to you, was written on the spot, in the moment, and is true; and all that remains is to reconcile to that the contradictions of others . . . Galloway can be no better authority than the common herd of passengers in the streets. he knew nothing but the rumors of hearsay: for he had quitted us long before, and m^r M^cKain was very old, and his memory much decayed when he gave his statement. The painting lately executed by Col^o Trumbull, I have never seen . . .”

On August 6, 1822, he adds to the *copy* of his first letter to Wells the following :

[S] P. S. Aug. 6. ¹⁸²² since the date of this letter, to wit this day Aug. 6. 22 I receive the new publication of the Secret Journals of Congress, wherein ~~it~~ is stated a Resolⁿ ^{of July 19. 1776} that the Declaration passed on the 4th be fairly engrossed on parchment, and when engrossed, be signed by every member, and another of Aug. 2. that being engrossed and compared at the table was signed by the members. that is to say the copy engrossed on parchment (for durability) was signed by the members after being compared at the table with the original one signed on paper ⁵⁴ as before stated ⁵⁵. I add this P. S. to the copy of my letter to m^r Wells to prevent confounding the signature of the original with that of the copy engrossed on parchment.

These contradictory statements of M^cKean and Jefferson — both of whom were present in Congress on July 4th — have very naturally given rise to much dispute and many lengthy arguments.⁵⁶

Our own opinion is that Jefferson is mistaken.

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Neither the *rough*⁵⁷ nor the *corrected*⁵⁸ Journal mentions any signing on July 4th ; nor does the printed copy of the Declaration wafered into the *rough* Journal (except that of the President) or the Declaration as embodied in the *corrected* Journal show the name of a single member.

The *secret domestic* Journal (also formerly in the Department of State but now in the Library of Congress) — beginning with June 7th — contains *no entries whatever* except for June 24th and July 8th, 11th, 17th and 19th ; nor thence⁵⁹ until November 27th : and the entry for the 19th only⁶⁰ bears upon the subject of independence.

This entry⁶⁰, evidently in the handwriting of Thomson, is as follows :

[S] July 19. 1776

⁶¹ Resolved That the Declaration passed on the 4th be fairly en ⊕

+

[The following is along the left margin of the page, lengthwise, from top to bottom:]

+ ⊕ grossed on parchment with the title and stile of "The Unanimous Declaration of the 13 United States of America" and that the same when engrossed be signed by every member of Congress. —

⁶² N P Aug. 2. 1776. The declaration of Independence being engrossed & compared at the table was signed by the Members.

Indeed, we believe that the greater portion (of the statements of fact) of *page 7*⁶³ of Jefferson's *notes* was not based upon anything as taken "*in my seat*" "while the question of Independance was under consideration before Congress," but that it was composed from *memory*, or from *memory and the printed Journal*, at the time (the exact date of which we do not know⁶⁴) of reducing them

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people
to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to
assume among the powers of the earth the separate & equal station to which the
laws of nature and of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of
mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the
separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal,
that they are endowed by their creator with inherent and inalienable rights,
that among these are life, liberty & the pursuit of happiness; that to secure

Page 7 of Jefferson's notes, which are bound as a part of his *Autobiography* and are now in the Library of Congress, in Washington. The word "present" was inserted, by Jefferson, at the time of writing his letter (See p. 196) to Samuel A. Wells, May 12, 1819. It will be found (See p. 199) interlined in the notes as given in that letter.



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"to form on the final conclusion". We believe especially that "and signed by every member"⁶⁵ except Mr Dickinson" was a *general* statement, not carefully considered or in any way investigated.

More than this, we believe that, *if*, at the time of reducing the *notes* "to form", Jefferson had in mind that the Declaration was signed *on parchment* on *August 2d* and was not simply following what he might readily take to be the meaning of the *printed* Journal, he wrote the words "and signed" without any intention that they should be governed by the words "in the evening of the last"⁶⁶; and that his Declaration "on paper" (August 6, 1822) was the result of his perusal of the printed *secret domestic* Journal — *showing that the Declaration on parchment was signed on August 2d* — and of the necessity to make his letter of May 12, 1819, to Wells conform to this fact.

Certain it is that he first mentioned a Declaration "on paper" on the slip⁶⁷ which he added to the *notes* after the writing of this letter to Wells and in the above post-script to the letter.

Moreover, John Adams writes⁶⁸ — to Chase from Philadelphia, July 9th — *but five days after the adoption of the Declaration*: "[QyC] As soon as an American Seal is prepared, I conjecture the Declaration will be subscribed by all the Members, which will give you the Opportunity you wish⁶⁹ for, of transmitting your Name, among the Votaries of Independence."

Also, Gerry — who, as we shall see, John Adams writes, Monday, July 15th, "Setts off, tomorrow, for Boston," after the Declaration had become unanimous

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by the sanction of New York — writes, to Samuel and John Adams from Kingsbridge, *July 21st*: “[SA] I have been fully employed since Thursday Noon in obtaining some Knowledge of y^e State of y^e Army & conferring wth y^e different Corps of Officers from y^e General to y^e Field Officers, & have y^e pleasure to inform You that they appear to be in high Spirits for Action & agree in Sentiments that y^e Men are as firm & determined as they wish them to be, having in View since y^e Declaration of Independence an Object that they are ready to contend for, an Object that they will chearfully pursue at y^e Risque of Life & every valuable Enjoyment . . . It seems that Lord Howe is sorry that he did not arrive a Day or two before & thinks he could have prevented y^e Declaratn of Independence . . . Pray subscribe for me y^e Declaration of Independence if y^e same is to be signed as proposed. I think We ought to have y^e privilege when necessarily absent of voting and signing by proxy.”

The facts, too, that the New York delegation were not authorized — on July 4th — to vote at all upon the question of independence, that the broadsides printed in July, 1776, do not bear the names of signers and that the authenticated copy of the Declaration printed by order of Congress bears the signatures (except M:Kean's) of those who signed the Declaration *on parchment* speak strongly against any signing on that day.

John Adams himself, however, in a letter to⁷⁰ Mercy Warren, written at Quincy, February 2, 1814⁷¹, and referring to M:Kean's letter to him of January (1814), says

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(though perhaps he⁷² was led so to state by misreading⁷³ the *printed* Journal): “[QyC] I send you a curiosity. Mr M Kean, is mistaken in a day or two, the final vote for Independence after the last debate, was passed on the 2nd or third of July, and the declaration prepared, and signed on the 4th. What are we to think of history? when in less than 40 years, such diversities appear in the memories of living persons who were witnesses. After noting what you please, I pray you to return⁷⁴ the letter, I should like to communicate⁷⁵ it to Gerry, Paine, and Jefferson, to stir up their pure minds. The unanimity of the nation in Independence, so modestly boasted now, by the tories, is too gross to impose upon all.”

Also, Franklin, under date of July 4, 1786, writes, to Mrs. Jane Mecom: “[X] There is much rejoicing in town to-day, it being the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, which we signed this day ten years, and thereby hazarded lives and fortunes.”

Also, there is now in the New York Public Library (Lenox) a copy of the Journal of Congress for 1776 “PRINTED AND SOLD BY R. AITKEN, BOOK-SELLER, FRONT-STREET, M,DCC,LXXVII” which contains the following marginal notes in ink, after the following printed names respectively:

Matthew Thornton. signed [?]
A== 177=

William Floyd,	} signed
Philip Livingston,	
Francis Lewis,	
Lewis Morris.	

July 15

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On a slip of paper pasted on the inside of the first cover, in the handwriting of Paul Leicester Ford, is the following: "Charles Thomson's own copy of the Journal of Congress, with autographic notes on fly leaves in his handwriting and two very important marginal notes, relating to the Declaration of Independence, at p. 245 P. L. F."

An examination of these "notes on fly leaves" indicates that some, and perhaps all, are in the handwriting of Thomson, as stated; but the "two very important marginal notes," if in Thomson's handwriting, were evidently written by him when advanced in years: and we know that he lived until August 16, 1824.

The question whether M:Kean or Jefferson is right does not affect, however, the signing⁷⁶ of the Declaration *on parchment*⁷⁷ — now in the Department of State.

The Journal tells us that Congress, on July 19th,

Resolved⁷⁸ That the Declaration^{passed on the 4th} be fairly engrossed on parchment with the title and stile of "The unanimous declaration of the thirteen united states of America" & that the same when engrossed be signed by every member of Congress.

and that, on August 2d⁷⁹,

⁸⁰ The declaration of independance being enerossed & compared⁸¹ at the table was signed

Jared Sparks relates⁸² the following anecdote "respecting an incident which took place when the members were about to sign the Declaration. 'We must be unanimous,' said Hancock; 'there must be no pulling different ways; we must all hang together.' 'Yes,'

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ed Franklin, 'we must, indeed, all hang together, most assuredly we shall all hang separately.'"

Hancock doubtless⁸³ was the first⁸⁴ to sign. "He wrote his name where all nations should behold it, and time should not efface it." Watson says: "[V]hen John Hancock signed his name, he did it in a large strong hand, and rising from his seat, said, 'There! an English Bull can read my name without spectacles, and may now double his reward of £500 for my head. *That is my defiance.*'"⁸⁵

Hopkins' signature, on the contrary, is very infirm — a fact which has given rise to the belief that he trembled with *fear*. Sanderson says, however, that he was afflicted with the shaking palsy and that he scarcely ever wrote at all.⁸⁶

Charles Carroll of Carrollton, says John Adams in his letter of February 18, 1776, "is . . . a gentleman of independent fortune, perhaps the largest in America — about a hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand pounds sterling; educated in some university in France, though a native of America, of great abilities and learning, complete master of the French language, and a professor of the Roman Catholic religion, yet a warm, a firm, a zealous supporter of the rights of America, in whose cause he has hazarded his all." It does not seem strange, therefore, that Sanderson writes: "[B] Mr. Hancock . . . during a conversation with Mr. Carroll, asked him if he would sign it [the Declaration]. 'Most willingly,' was the reply, and taking a pen, he at once put his name to the instrument. 'There goes a few millions,' said one of those who stood by; and all present

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at the time agreed, that in point of fortune, few risked more than Charles Carroll of Carrollton." "The story often repeated and as often denied," writes⁸⁷ Kate Mason Rowland, "that Charles Carroll added 'of Carrollton' to his signature, when jestingly reminded by one of his colleagues that there were others of his name in Maryland, and he would therefore incur little risk [unless he added these words], though a pretty legend is, of course, not tenable as history. It has been seen that Charles Carroll had signed himself as 'of Carrollton' ⁸⁸ from the time of his return to America in 1765."

All of those who appear as subscribers to the Declaration on parchment, however, did not sign on this day — August 2d.

Thornton cannot have signed before November 4th; for only then he appeared in Congress and produced his credentials. He was not *elected* even until September 12th. He took the place of Langdon.⁸⁹

M:Kean also was a *post-signer*; for Cæsar Rodney writes⁹⁰, from Philadelphia to Thomas Rodney (?), August 8th: "[Tr] M: M^cKean is Yet in the Jerseys, and not likely soon to return . . ."

Indeed, M:Kean himself writes, to Alexander J. Dallas⁹¹, August 4, 1796: "I had not heard that the Instrument had been engrossed on parchment and signed until some weeks after I returned from Camp, and (I believe) until I returned from Newcastle, where I had been employed some weeks, as a member of the Convention chosen to form a new Government for that State; but I subscribed my name to it in the presence of the Congress sometime in the year 1776."

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The exact date⁹² of his signing, however, has never been ascertained.

Gerry⁹³ too was absent on August 2d.

John Adams writes, from Philadelphia, to his wife, July 15th⁹⁴: "[Qy] My very deserving Friend, M' Gerry, Setts off, tomorrow, for Boston, worn out of Health, by the Fatigues of this station -- He is an excellent Man, and an active able statesman. I hope he will soon return hither." Four days later, Joseph Trumbull writes from New York, to Hancock: "Mr. Gerry is here -- better than when he left Philadelphia"; and, on the 25th, he writes from the same place, to Samuel and John Adams: "[SA] Our Friend M' Gerry left us on Sunday in pretty good Health --" On the 25th, also, at 8 o'clock in the evening, Mifflin -- at "[S]Camp on Mount Washington" -- writes, to Washington: "I have this Minute received a Letter from M' Gerry at Norwalk on his way to Boston." The next day (Friday), (Jonathan) Trumbull writes from Lebanon, to Williams: "Mr. Gerry keeps Sabbath here."

Gerry himself -- *on his way back* -- writes, from Hartford, to Gates, August 24th: "[NY] I am here on my Journey to Philadelphia, from which I have been absent about a Month for Health . . ." He was chosen upon a committee on September 20th.

Wolcott was another absentee.

He left Philadelphia probably⁹⁵ on June 27th; "⁹⁶ In a letter to his brother-in-law, Deputy-Governor Matthew Griswold, dated New York, July 1 . . . [he wrote]: 'I am on my way home for the recovery of my health⁹⁷ and to see my family: for three weeks past⁹⁸ have been much

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unwell, owing, I suppose, to a too long confined way of living.'"; and he arrived home doubtless⁹⁹ on July 4th.

On August 13th, Trumbull writes, from Lebanon to Washington: "[S] Immediately upon receipt of your Letter [dated the 7th] I Summoned my Council of Safety, and Ordered Nine Regiments of our Militia in addition to the Five Western Regiments, Fourteen in the whole to march without loss of Time and join you, under the Comand of Oliver Wolcott Esq^r Col^o of the Regiment as their Brigadier General, who is appointed and Commissioned to that Office"; and, two days later, Wolcott — at Litchfield — replies: "I shall most cheerfully render my country every service in my power, and am sorry my health is not better to go through the duties of a military life, and more so that my inexperience and want of knowledge in this service are so very considerable . . ."

He returned to Philadelphia on October 1st, as shown by a letter from him of that date from that city to his wife: "[MsS] This morning I arrived safe in this City, with as much Health as when I left Home, tho' a little fatigued with a long Journey."

Indeed, Lewis Morris, R. H. Lee¹⁰⁰ and Wythe¹⁰⁰ also had left Philadelphia and had not yet returned.

Morris, as we have seen¹⁰¹, was in attendance upon the Convention of New York upon August 2d.

Lee doubtless¹⁰² departed on June 13th.

His purpose seems to have been to attend upon the Convention.¹⁰³ At least, we hear of him there on June 29th¹⁰⁴; and he was in attendance there certainly also on July 1st, 3d and 5th. On the last day, the Con-

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vention adjourned to the first Monday of October. In fact, he himself writes from Williamsburg, to Samuel Adams, on July 6th: "[SA] A fortnights stay here has enabled me to assist my Countrymen in finishing our form of Government . . . Surely the great business of Independance and Foreign Alliance is rightly determined before now — I shall be rejoiced to hear it . . . I leave this place today for Chantilly, where I shall remain until the last of August when I sett out for Congress."

On the 15th¹⁰⁵ of July, Samuel Adams writes to him, from Philadelphia: "[A] Pray hasten your Journey hither — your Country most pressingly solícists, or will you allow me to say, *demand*s your Assistance here"; on the next day, Francis Lightfoot Lee writes to him from the same city: "[N] I have written you every post, since you left this . . . The 11th of next month Col: Harrison & Braxton are no longer delegates & as M: Jefferson is determined to go home then, we shall be without a representation, unless you join us. we have not heard when M: Wythe intends to be here. I have now got a very good house, near the State house, in which you may have choice of good rooms well furnished, except with beds. as we have but one, it is necessary we shoud know as soon as possible when to expect you, that we may provide for you. We have this house certainly till the last of Oct: & a chance for the winter"; and, on the 30th¹⁰⁶, Chase also writes from Philadelphia to him — "[A] at Chantilly": "Your Letter of the 14 Inst: followed Me to this City, and your other favour of the 21st was delivered by yesterdays Post."

Meanwhile, on July 21st, and evidently before any of

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these letters was received, Lee, at Chantilly, writes also to Jefferson: "[S] Our Friend M^r Wythe proposes to me by letter that I meet him at Hooes Ferry the 3^d of September, and I have agreed to do so, unless some pressing call takes me to Congress sooner. Can you have patience so long¹⁰⁷?"

On July 29th, still at Chantilly, he replies to Samuel Adams' letter: "[SA] I am much obliged to you for your favor by last post . . . I hope to be with you soon after the middle of August."

Jefferson writes to Page, August 5th: "[Tr] Colo Lee being unable to attend here till the 20th inst. I am under the painful necessity of putting off my departure . . ."

On the 20th of August, Lee was at Belle View; for, on that day, he writes thence, to Henry: "[Q] I am thus far on my way to Congress, having been sometime delayed by the slowness of the Workman that made my Carriage wheels, the old being quite shattered and useless."

Indeed, Jefferson writes, as late as August 26th: "[Ms] Colo Lee being not yet come I am still here, & suppose I shall not get away till about this day se'n-night.¹⁰⁸ I shall see you in Williamsburgh the morning of the Assembly"; though Lee must have arrived in Philadelphia that same or the next day, for the Journal shows that he was chosen upon a committee on August 27th.

Wythe would seem to have departed with Lee. As shown by Jefferson's *notes*, he was in Congress on either June 8th or 10th or on both days.

Certainly as early as June 29th (and on July 1st, 2d, 4th and 5th), however, he was in Williamsburg, in attend-

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ance upon the Convention. Indeed, four days later (July 9th), Pendleton—writing from “Caroline”—asks Jefferson to let him know the cost of some wire which Jefferson had purchased for him, “[S] that I may remit it by Mr. Wythe”; on the 20th, Page—evidently at Williamsburg—speaks of Wythe as though present; and, on the 27th, Wythe himself writes from Williamsburg, to Jefferson: “[S] I had not reached this place before the appointment [June 20th] of delegates. An attempt to alter it as to you was made in vain¹⁰⁰ . . . I have directed a carriage to meet me at Hooe’s Ferry the third of September.”

On September 14th, Bartlett writes from Philadelphia, to Whipple: “Mr. Wythe is come to Congress.”

Stockton also, it seems likely, was elsewhere when, in the main, the Declaration on parchment was signed; for, on July 19th, he writes from Trenton, to Jefferson: “[S] Upon my arrival at this place I waited upon the New Jersey Convention—and proposed to them the agreeing to furnish 2000 men for the increase of the flying Camp . . .” We know, however, that he was chosen upon a committee in Congress on August 9th.

It even is *possible* that Gwinnett did not sign on the 2d; for the Journal *for that day* says that Congress “Resolved that M^r Walton be appointed a member of the marine committee in the room of M^r Gwinnet, who is absent.” It is not at all unlikely, however, that he signed with the others and absented himself later in the day. At least, he must have signed on or about the 2d: for John Adams’ *debates* show that he was present in Congress on *July 26th*; Thomas Jones writes to James

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Iredell *from Halifax, N. C., August 17th*: “[I] As to news from the North, the following is nearly the substance, and which may be depended upon, as I had it from Mr. Gwinet, a countryman of ours from Gloucestershire on his return from the Continental Congress, of which he is one of the delegates for the State of Georgia”; and Charles C. Jones, Jr., says¹¹⁰ that, on August 30th, Gwinnett presented to the Council of Safety, in Georgia, certified copies of certain resolutions passed by Congress on July 24th, that he became a member of the Council on October 7th, that he was elected President of the new government (of Georgia) on March 4, 1777, and that he engaged in a duel in May and died a few days later from the wound he then received. Indeed,—though the Convention, on October 9th (1776), reelected Houston, Lyman Hall, Gwinnett and Walton and elected Nathan Brownson—only Hall and Walton signed the following letter, dated December 10th, to Hancock: “[S] We have received accounts of our reappointment to represent the state of Georgia in Congress, and will be ready to take our seats in a day or two¹¹¹”, and we find no *record* of the attendance upon Congress of Gwinnett following July 26th.

Nor are we *certain* (though it is probable¹¹²) that Williams had arrived by the 2d; for Charles J. Hoadly writes¹¹³: “William Williams charged for attending Congress from July 22 to Nov. 21, 1776, 123 days. These are the dates of his setting out from home and of his return again; for on July 22 he was in Hartford, on his way to Philadelphia, and gave a receipt to the Treasurer of the Colony for money advanced.

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November 21, he was again in Hartford and attended a meeting of the Council of Safety."

Paine also *may* not have signed with (most of) the others; for John Adams writes¹¹⁴, to James Warren, July 27th: "[J] Mr. Paine has been very ill for this whole week, and remains in a bad way. He has not been able to attend Congress for several days, and if I was to judge by his eye, his skin, and his cough, I should conclude he never would be fit to do duty there again, without a long intermission . . . Mr. S. Adams¹¹⁵, between you and me, is completely worn out . . . My¹¹⁶ case is worse . . ."

That Heyward too may possibly have been absent on August 2d would perhaps suggest itself to one reading the proceedings of the Assembly of South Carolina, sitting at Charleston, of September 30th; for they say: "It being suggested to the House, that upon a supposition that the seat of the Honourable Thomas Heyward became vacant in consequence of his being absent from this State as a Delegate at the Continental Congress, a new Representative for Charles-Town was elected in his room, and that such proceeding was irregular and invalid, it was, therefore, moved and seconded, that the House do resolve that Mr. Heyward has a right to take his seat, notwithstanding the said election. And it was resolved accordingly." A letter to the Committee of Safety of North Carolina, dated Philadelphia, September 3d, signed by Hooper, Hewes and Penn, says, however: "[NC] From the Newspapers, aided with the information which you will receive from our friend M^r Heyward . . ."; from which¹¹⁷ it would appear that

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Heyward was the bearer of the letter and, therefore, cannot have left Philadelphia before September 3d. Beyond question, he was still present on September 4th; and he then purposed to leave on the 5th.¹¹⁸

Jefferson's letter to Page of July 20th¹¹⁹ raises a doubt also as to Braxton's presence in Congress on August 2d; but we think, in view of all of the circumstances¹²⁰, that he probably did not leave for Virginia until after that day.

Indeed, since 55 members besides the President signed the Declaration on parchment, Jefferson's *notes* would seem to indicate the probable (though not certain) absence on August 2d of still others. The *notes* say:

on the 30th & 31st of that month [July] & 1st of the ensuing, those articles were debated which . . . the first of these articles

. . .

Mr Chase moved . . .

Mr John Adams observed . . .

Mr Wilson said . . .

Mr. Payne . . .¹²¹

D^r Witherspoon was of opinion . . .

. . .

The other article . . .

present 41.¹²² members.¹²³

July 30. 31. Aug. 1. Mr Chase observed . . .

D^r Franklin . . .

D^r Witherspoon opposed . . .

John Adams advocated . . .

Mr Harrison proposed . . .

D^r Rush took notice . . .

Mr Hopkins observed . . .

Mr Wilson thought . . .

John Adams' *debates* show only that Jefferson, Sherman, Chase, Wilson, (Lyman) Hall, Heyward and

[illegible]

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Hopkinson¹²⁴ spoke on July 25th; (Edward) Rutledge, Lynch¹²⁵, Gwinnett, Jefferson, Braxton, Wilson, Walton, Stone, Witherspoon, Chase and Sherman on the 26th; Franklin, Witherspoon, Clark, Wilson, Chase, Lynch and (Edward) Rutledge on the 30th; Hooper, Franklin, Middleton, Sherman, Rush, Witherspoon and Hopkins on August 1st; and Sherman, Chase, Harrison, Huntington, Stone and Jefferson on the 2d.

The Journal for July 25th shows only that Jefferson, Wilson and Sherman were chosen upon a committee and that Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole and that Harrison was chairman; for the 26th only that Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole and that Morton was chairman; for the 29th only that Clark was chosen upon a committee and that Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole and that Morton was chairman; for the 30th only that Harrison, Samuel Adams and Lynch were chosen upon a committee and that Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole and that Morton was chairman; for the 31st and for August 1st only that Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole and that Morton was chairman; and for the 2d only that Walton was chosen upon a committee "in the room of M' Gwinnet, who is absent" and that Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole and that Morton was chairman.

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X

THE EFFECT OF THE DECLARATION AND WHAT WAS THOUGHT¹ OF IT

“Ring ye the bells, ye yong men of the towne,
And leave your wonted labors for this day :
This day is holy ; doe ye write it downe,
That ye for ever it remember may.”

THE Declaration changed a war of principle — a defensive war, a war for the redress of wrongs — into a war for the establishment of a separate government.

Gerry, enclosing a copy of the Declaration “for yourself, and another for Major Hawley,” writes, to James Warren, July 5th: “I have the pleasure to inform you that a determined resolution of the Delegates from some of the Colonies to push the question of Independency has had a most happy effect, and, after a day’s² debate, all the Colonies, excepting New-York, whose Delegates are not empowered to give either an affirmative or negative voice united in a declaration long sought for, solicited, and necessary — the Declaration of Independency. New-York will most probably on Monday next, when its convention meets for forming a constitution, join in the measure, and then it will be entitled The Unani-

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mous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America."

On the same day, John Adams declares, to Polly Palmer³: "[QyC] I will inclose to you a Declaration, in which all America is most remarkably united. — — — It compleats a Revolution, which will make as good a Figure in the History of Nations, as any that has preceded it. — provided always that the Ladies take Care to record the Circumstances of it, for by the Experience I have had of the other Sex, they are either too lazy or too active, to commemorate it."

Whipple writes, July 8th, to Langdon: "Yours of the 24th ultimo I have received . . . The Declaration will no doubt give you pleasure. It will be published next Thursday at the head of the Army at New-York. I am told it is to be published this day in form in this city . . . I hope that you will take care that the Declaration is properly treated. Colonel Bartlett desires his compliments"; and, at 10 o'clock in the evening (of the same day), also, of course, from Philadelphia, to Joshua Brackett (?): "[Mn] I cannot forbear communicating the Pleasure I know You will enjoy on Receipt of the enclosed Declaration, it was this day published in form at the State House in this City . . ."

"Sir," says Joseph Barton of Delaware, to Wisner, his cousin, on the 9th, "it gives a great turn to the minds of our people declaring our independence. Now we know what to depend on. For my part, I have been at a great stand: I could hardly own the King, and fight against him at the same time; but now these matters are cleared up. Heart and hand shall move together. I don't think

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there will be five Tories in our part of the country in ten days after matters are well known. We have had great numbers who would do nothing until we were declared a free State, who now are ready to spend their lives and fortunes in defence of our country."

Cæsar Rodney writes, July 10th⁴, to Thomas Rodney: "The Declaration has laid the foundation, and will be followed by laws fixing the degree of offence and punishment suitable. Some people have done things which, if done in future, nothing less than life will be sufficient to atone for . . . Neither Betsey's nor Sally's shoes⁵ are yet done, though the measures were sent as soon as I got to town. I am glad to find that you are of opinion my harvest will be down by the last of this week. Pray do attend to it. Perhaps wheat will bring something next year."

Evidently about the same time, Samuel Adams writes, to John Pitts: "[SA] You were informd by the last Post that Congress had declared the thirteen united Colonies free & independent States — It must be allowd by the impartial World that this Declaration has not been made rashly . . . Much I fear has been lost by Delay, but an Accession of several Colonies has been gaind by it — The Delegates of every Colony were present & concured in this important Act; except those of N Y who were not authorizd to give their Voice on the Question, but they have since publickly said that a new Convention was soon to meet in that Colony & they had not the least Doubt of their acceding to it[.]"

Five days later, he declares to R. H. Lee: "[A] Our Declaration of Independency has given Vigor to the

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Spirits of the people. Had this decisive Measure been taken Nine Months ago, it is my opinion that Canada would at this time have been in our hands . . . We were more fortunate than I expected in having 12 of the 13 Colonies in favor of the all important Question — The Delegates of N. York⁶ were not empowered to give their Voice on either Side — Their Convention has acceded to the Declaration & published it even before⁷ they received it from Congress — So mighty a Change in so short a Time ! . . . A Convention is now meeting in this City [Philadelphia] to form a Constitution for this Colony — They are empowered . . . to chuse new Delegates for Congress — I am told that there will be a Change of Men, and if so, I hope for the better[.]”

Again, on the 16th, he writes, to Warren: “[SA] Our Declaration of Independence has already been attended with good effects — It is fortunate beyond our expectation to have the voice of every Colony in favor of so important a question —”

A third letter of the 15th (Monday), from Dr. Samuel Cooper, at Boston, says: “[SA] Nothing could give greater Joy here than an unanimous Vote in Congress for Independence — We receiv’d last Saturday by the Post the Declaration. It is admir’d for it’s Comprehensive & calm Dignity. — But how came the Delegates of Maryland to happen to be out of the Way when so important a Question was to be decided? . . . Is it not strange that at this Time of day N. York Delegates should not be empower’d to vote — The Declaration must give a new spring to all our Affairs.”

On the same day (the 15th), *John* Adams writes, to his

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wife : “[Qy] There is a most amiable, laudable and gallant Spirit prevailing, in these middle Colonies. — The Militia turn out in great Numbers and in high Spirits, in New Jersey, Pensilvania, Maryland, and Delaware. So that We hope to resist Howe and his Mirmidons —”

Joseph Hawley, in acknowledging to Gerry the receipt of the copy which had been forwarded for him, writes, from Northampton, July 17th : “ I have often said that I supposed a Declaration of Independence would be accompanied with a declaration of high treason. Most certainly it must immediately, and without the least delay, follow it . . . No one thing made the Declaration of Independence indispensably necessary more than cutting off traitors.”

Another son of Massachusetts, Tristram Dalton, writing from Newburyport to Gerry, July 19th, says : “ I wish you joy on the late full Declaration — an event so ardently desired by your good self and the people you particularly represent. We are no longer to be amused with delusive prospects. The die is cast. All is at stake. The way is made plain. No one can now doubt on which side it is his duty to act . . . We are not to fear what man or a multitude can do. We have put on the harness, and I trust it will not be put off until we see our land a land of security and freedom — the wonder of the other hemisphere — the asylum of all who pant for deliverance from bondage.”

John Page, of Virginia, writes, to Jefferson, July 20th : “[S] I am highly pleased with your Declaration⁸ God preserve the united States — We know the Race is not to the swift nor the Battle to the strong — Do you not

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think an Angel rides in the Whirlwind & directs this Storm? ”

Bartlett writes, to Langdon, July 22d: “The Convention here have taken on them the government of this Colony [Pennsylvania], and have appointed Delegates for Congress, men who will forward, and not hinder, spirited measures. In short, there is a far greater harmony in carrying on spirited measures in Congress than heretofore. The Conventions even of Maryland and New-York seem now to be in earnest.”

The next day, “An old Friend” (evidently Rush^o), writing from Philadelphia to General Lee, says: “The Declaration of Independence has produced a new era in this part of America. The Militia of Pennsylvania seem to be actuated with a spirit more than Roman . . . The Tories are quiet, but very surly . . . The spirit of liberty reigns triumphant in Pennsylvania. The Proprietary gentry have retired to their country seats, and honest men have taken the seats they abused so much in the government of our State. The papers will inform you that I have been thrust into Congress . . . I think the Declaration of Independence will produce union and new exertions in England in the same ratio that they have done in this country.”

Certainly, on the 30th, Rush writes, to Dr. Walter: “[Mn] The influence of the declaration of independence upon the senate & the field is inconceivable.”

Benjamin Kent writes, to Samuel Adams from Boston, August 4th: “[SA] It is GOD’S doing the bringing about this truly astonishing and unparallel’d *union* the declaration of Independence — ”

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Clark writes¹⁰, to Colonel Dayton from Philadelphia, August 6th: "[Gz] Your favour of the 25 July & M^r Caldwell's of the 26 from the German Flatts, I rec^d. A few days ago . . . As to my Title — I know not yet whether it will be honourable or dishonourable, the issue of the War must Settle it — Perhaps our Congress will be Exalted on a high Gallows — We were truly brought to the Case of the three Lepers — if we continued in the State we were in, it was evident we must Perish — if We declared Independence, we might be saved, we could but perish . . . Excepting my health I am as Agreeably Situated as I could expect Doctor Witherspoon M^r Hart & my Self quarter together . . . P. S. You'll please to Accept this on Plain Paper, our dignity don't afford Gilt, and our pay scarcely Any. — "

In *The Essex Journal*, etc., (C) for September 6th appears an article by "Philomathes" in praise of the Declaration.

Nor was the change wrought among the *doubtful*¹¹ only but even among many who had previously *strongly favored reconciliation*. Among the latter, John Adams has given us Dickinson, Jay, Duane and William Livingston.

Joseph Reed, writing to Robert Morris from New York City, July 18th, says: "[U] I fear the die is irrevocably cast, and that we must play out the game, however doubtful and desperate. My principles have been much misunderstood if they were supposed to militate against reconciliation . . . My private judgment¹²

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led me to think that if the two great cardinal points of exemption from British taxation and charge of internal government could have been secured, our happiness and prosperity would have been best promoted by preserving the dependence. The Declaration of Independence is a new and very strong objection to entering into any negotiation inconsistent with that idea. But I fancy there are numbers, and some of them firm in the interests of America, who would think an overture ought not to be rejected, and if it could be improved into a negotiation which could secure the two points I have mentioned above, would think the blood and treasure expended well spent. I have no idea from anything I have seen or can learn that if we should give the General and Admiral a full and fair hearing, the proposition would amount to anything short of unconditional submission, but it may be worth considering whether that once known, and all prospect of securing American liberty in that way being closed, it would not have a happy effect to unite us into one chosen band, resolved to be free, or perish in the attempt . . . I trust and hope . . . the publick will not lose your services in Congress."

Morris replies, "[NY] From the *Hills* on Schuylkill", July 21st¹³: "I received your obliging letter of the 18th yesterday in Congress . . . I am sorry to say there are some amongst us that cannot bear the thought of Reconciliation on any terms . . . I cannot help Condemning this disposition as it must be founded in keen Resentment or on interested Views . . . I think with you that if the Commissioners have any propositions to make they ought to be heard . . . I am not for

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making any Sacrifice of Dignity, but still ¹⁴ I wou'd hear them if possible, because if they can offer Peace on admissible terms I believe the great majority of America wou'd still be for accepting it; If they can only offer *Pardons* & that is fully ascertained it will firmly Unite all America in their exertions to support the Independance they have declared . . . If they offer or desire a Conference & we reject it, those who are already dissatisfied will become more so and others will follow their example & we may expect daily greater disunion & defection in every part of these States, at least such are my apprehensions on this Subject—I have uniformly voted against & opposed the declaration of Independance because in my poor oppinion it was an improper time and will neither promote the interest or redound to the honor of America, for it has caused division when we wanted Union, and will be ascribed to very different principles than those, which ought to give rise to such an Important measure I did expect my Conduct on this great Question wou'd have procured my dismission from the great Council but find myself disapointed for the Convention have thought proper to return me in the New Delegation, and altho, my interest & inclination prompt me to decline the Service Yet I cannot depart from one point that first induced me to enter in the Public line. I mean an oppinion that it is the duty of every Individual, to Act his part, in whatever Station his Country may Call him to, in times of difficulty danger & distress, whilst I think this a duty I must submit, altho the Councils of America have taken a different course from my Judgment & wishes—I think

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an individual that declines the Service of his Country because its Councils are not conformable to his Ideas, makes but a bad Subject, a good one, will follow if he cannot lead . . . This being Sunday Morning & in the Country I have spun out this letter to a length not common with me now adays I beg my Comp^{ts} to the Gen^l I dined in Company with M^{rs} Washington yesterday at Col^l Harrisons & expect her here at dinner to day[.]”

Jasper Charlton, at “Cuffnell’s”, writes, August 24th, to James Iredell: “[I] Although politics is a subject of conversation I would by choice decline, yet I cannot help giving you my sentiments respecting the most interesting event which has as yet occurred, I mean independency. My idea of it is simply this, that America is as yet too young to effect her own salvation, more especially when respect is had to the tempers, complexions, and various conditions of its inhabitants. I think this business (if ever manageable) should have fallen into the hands of an united, robust and populous posterity; and that at present she may be compared to a tender plant, by no means able to withstand the many rude shocks that a most inclement season will give it. God knows what the womb of time may produce. I will therefore quit a topic that awakens all my fears, and brings to my idea a train of melancholy events, and disastrous consequences.”

Indeed, Rev. Jacob Duché, in a letter to Washington, dated Philadelphia, October 8, 1777, writes: “[NM] I was however prevailed upon among the rest of my Clerical Brethren in this City to gratify the pressing

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Desire of my fellow Citizens by preaching a Sermon to one of the City Battalions. I was pressed to publish this Sermon & reluctantly consented . . . My Sermon speaks for itself and wholly disclaims the Idea of Independency. My Sentiments were well known to my Friends. I communicated them without reserve to ~~my Friends~~ many respectable Members of Congress, who expressed their Approbation of them. I persisted to the last Moment in using the Prayers for our Sovereign though threatened with Insult from the violence of a party — Upon the Declaration of Indepency I called my vestry & solemnly put the Question to them whether they thought it best for the peace & welfare of the Congregations to shut up the Churches or to continue the Service without using the Prayers for the royal Family. This was the sad alternative. I concluded to abide by their Decision, as I could not have time to consult my spiritual Superiors in England. They determined it most expedient under such Critical Circumstances to keep open the Churches that the Congregations might not be dispersed which we had great reason to apprehend — A very few days after that fatal Declaration of Independence I rec^d a letter from M^r Hancock . . . acquainting me that I was appointed Chaplain to the Congress and desired to attend them at 9 o'Clock the next morning. Surprised and distressed by an Event, I was not prepared to expect, obliged to give an immediate answer without the opportunity of Consulting my Friends, I rashly accepted the appointment. I could have but one motive for taking this Step. I thought the Churches in Danger and hoped by this means to

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have been instrumental in preventing those Ills I had so much reason to apprehend I can however with truth declare that I then looked upon Independency rather as an Expedient and a hazardous one — indeed thrown out in Terrorem in order to procure some favorable Terms, than a measure that was to be seriously persisted in at all Events . . . Upon the return of the Committee of Congress appointed to confer with Lord Howe I soon discovered their real intention . . . that Independency was the Idol they had long wished to set up . . . From this Moment I determined upon my Resignation and in the beginning of October 1776 sent it in Form to M^r Hancock after having officiated only two Months & three Weeks and from that time as far as my Safety would permit I have been opposed to all their Measures.”

Rush writes, April 8, 1777: “[Rid] The declaration of independance was said to have divided & weakened the colonies — The contrary of this was the case. Nothing but the signing, & recognising of the declaration of independance preserved the congress from dissolution in Decem^r 1776 when Howe marched to the Delaware. Maryland had instructed her delegates to concur in an Accommodation notwithstanding *any measure* (meaning independance) to the contrary. But further the declaration of independance produced a secession of tories — timid — moderate & double minded men from the counsels of America in consequence of which the congress as well as each of the states have possessed ten times the vigor and strength they had formerly [.]”

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“¹⁵ The Governor of Halifax received the Declaration of Independancy, about four weeks since, but would not permit the poor dupe of a printer (had he ever so good a mind) to publish any more of it than barely the last clause, where it says; ‘ We therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled, Do, &c. &c.’ And his reason (as we are credibly informed) was ‘ because it may gain over to them (the rebels) many converts; and inflame the minds of his Majesty’s *loyal* and *faithful* subjects of the province of Nova-Scotia.’ ”

“¹⁶ Tuesday last arrived Capt. M’Kay from St. Christophers . . . He says the inhabitants of St. Christophers continue warmly attached to our cause, and that their reigning toasts are, WASHINGTON, LEE, and INDEPENDENCY to America.”

The Declaration appeared in *The London Chronicle* (PH), and extracts from it in *The Daily Advertiser* (C), also of London, of August 17th.¹⁷

The Gentleman’s Magazine, etc., (C) published in the same city, for August, also contains the Declaration, and the statement: “ In the preceding part of this Magazine the reader will find the Declaration of Independency issued by the American Congress, with a recapitulation of the grievances which have forced them into that desperate measure. Whether those grievances were real or imaginary, or whether they did or did not deserve a parliamentary enquiry, we [Sylvanus Urban] will not presume to decide. The ball is now struck, and time only can shew where it will rest.”

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The Scots Magazine (C) — published in Edinburgh — for August says: “The Congress, on the 4th of July, declared the colonies independent states. It is said, the number of provinces for independency were seven, against it six . . . Other accounts say, that the Congress were Unanimous: it is probable, that the members were divided, but, agreeable to the secret article of the Congress, the minority had gone in with the sentiments of the majority, and thus gave it the appearance of unanimity . . . We insert the Declaration of Independency; subjoining, in the form of notes¹⁸, some remarks by a writer under the signature of *An Englishman*; which he introduces thus: ‘. . . The Declaration is without doubt of the most extraordinary nature both with regard to sentiment and language; and considering that the motive of it is to assign some justifiable reasons of their separating themselves from G. Britain, unless it had been fraught with more truth and sense, [it] might well have been spared, as it reflects no honour upon either their erudition or their honesty.’”

The Annual Register, etc., (N) for 1776, published in London, also contains the Declaration, headed as follows: “*Reasons assigned by the Continental Congress, for the North-American Colonies and Provinces withdrawing their Allegiance to the King of Great-Britain.*”

Ralph Izard writes, to Claude Crespigny, August 31st: “They laugh, you say, at St. James at the Declaration of Independence. I do not know that they have much cause to do so. When the Duke of Braganza declared Portugal independent of Spain, and himself King of it, the Count-Duke Olivarez affected likewise

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to laugh. Philip the Fourth was persuaded to think it a very pleasant and comical circumstance . . . The King, however, was deceived, and the Spanish Monarchy dismembered. Perhaps some historian may find a parallel to this Spanish story."

William Lee writes, from London, September 10th : "The declaration of independence on the part of America, has totally changed the nature of the contest between that country and Great Britain. It is now on the part of Great Britain a scheme of conquest, which few imagine can succeed. Independence . . . has altered the face of things here. The Tories, and particularly the Scotch, hang their heads and keep a profound silence on the subject; the Whigs do not say much, but rather seem to think the step a wise one, on the part of America, and what was an inevitable consequence of the measures taken by the British Ministry."

The King, in his speech (drawn, of course, by Lord North) which opened the House of Peers, on October 31st, said : "¹⁹ . . . so daring and desperate is the Spirit of those Leaders, whose Object has always been Dominion and Power, that they have now openly renounced all Allegiance to the Crown, and all political Connection with this Country : They have . . . presumed to set up their rebellious Confederacies for Independent States. If their Treason be suffered to take Root, much Mischief must grow from it, to the Safety of my loyal Colonies, to the Commerce of my Kingdoms, and indeed to the present System of all Europe. One great Advantage, however, will be derived from the Object of the Rebels being openly avowed, and clearly understood ;

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We shall have Unanimity at Home, founded in the general Conviction of the Justice and Necessity of our Measures."

Following the reading of this speech, an address approving its sentiments was moved by the Earl of Carlisle (who spoke of the "insolence of the Rebels") and seconded by Earl Fauconberg. In the debate which ensued, the address was supported by the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Sandwich, Lord Viscount Weymouth and Lord Cardiff, the last of whom declared the Colonists "exceedingly ungrateful."

The Marquis of Rockingham, however, condemned this measure and moved that it be amended. He said that, if the Colonists had "declared themselves independent, it was long after they were declared enemies; and for his part he could not possibly see what degree of obedience was due, where public protection was openly withdrawn." He was supported by Lord Wycombe and Lord Osborne.

The Duke of Richmond thought it would be much better to have the Americans "as friends than enemies, though we should be under the necessity of acknowledging them as so many independent States"; and, in speaking of the various measures that preceded the Declaration, he said that the "Ministers had been successful, and gained what they secretly wished for, though they did not dare to avow it . . ."

The Duke of Grafton "pledged himself to the House, and to the publick, that while he had a leg²⁰ to stand on, he would come down, day after day, to express the most marked abhorrence of the measures hitherto pursued, and

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meant to be adhered to, in respect to America. He condemned, in terms equally explicit and unreserved, the measures which had compelled America to declare herself independent, though he was sorry for it, and thought she acted extremely wrong in so doing."

The address was adopted as introduced.

In the address to the King *from the House of Commons*, moved by Neville, seconded by Hutton and supported by Wombwell, we read: "While we lament the continuance of the troubles which have so long distracted your Majesty's Colonies in North America, and of the calamities and oppressions which our unhappy fellow-subjects are still suffering under the arbitrary tyranny of their leaders; we cannot forbear to express our detestation and abhorrence of the audacious and desperate spirit of ambition, which has at last carried those leaders so far, as to make them openly renounce all allegiance . . ."

In the debate here, as well as in the House of Peers, many — among them General Conway — showed themselves, however, to be opposed to the Ministry.

An amendment, offered by Lord John Cavendish and seconded by the Marquis of Granby, proposed to strike out the first part of the address and insert: "Nor can we conceive that such an event . . . could have taken place without some error in the conduct observed towards them . . ."

Wilkes declared: "Much has been said, sir, of the prophecy of the Ministers, that the Americans would in the end declare themselves independent. I give the Ministers no credit for such a prophecy . . . They might very safely promulgate such a prediction, when

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they knew that the unjust and sanguinary measures which they intended to pursue, must bring about the event. They drove the Americans into their present state of independency. The Jesuits in France risked nothing when they prophesied in 1610 the death of the best prince that ever reigned in Europe, within that year. Theirs was the sure word of prophecy. They employed Ravillac to assassinate their Sovereign . . . This [declaring independence] was done with circumstances of spirit and courage, to which posterity will do justice. It was directly after the safe landing of your whole force . . . I hope, and believe, you never will conquer the free spirit of the descendants of Englishmen, exerted in an honest cause. They honor and value the blessings of liberty."

Governor Johnstone "² said he was far from being pleased with the Americans for their declarations in favour of Independency, but he saw clearly that they were driven to the measure by our vigorous persecution of them. We had hired foreign troops to fight against them, and they had no other way of putting themselves on a footing with us, than by throwing off the yoke . . . and inviting foreign aid to defend them. They had, he said, taken every possible means to avoid such a measure . . ."

Fox thought that "The Americans had done no more than the English had done against James the II."

The Honorable Temple Luttrell and the Right Honorable T. Townshend approved of the act of the Colonists. The former said, "For his part, he construed this speech [the King's] an infamous, groundless libel

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fabricated by a tyrannical faction, against some of the most valuable members of the British community, who, actuated by principles of justice and honour, were nobly contending on the other side of the Atlantick, for the dearest rights of mankind; and who, limiting their resistance to a redress of real and essential grievances, were falsely accused of having, from the beginning of this unhappy contest, had no other object in view than anarchy and independence." The latter, speaking of the Declaration, expressed himself thus: "To say that the measures of last year did not tend to this end, seems to me absurd to the last degree . . . There is, I think, one part of the speech which mentions a discovery of the original designs of the leaders of the Americans. In God's name, who made them leaders? How came they to be so? If you force men together by oppression, they will form into bodies, and choose leaders. Mr. Hancock²² was a merchant of credit and opulence when this unhappy business first broke out. Men in that kind of situation are not very prone to a change of Government."

"The arrival²³ of the declaration of independence" in France, Bancroft says, "gave more earnestness to the advice of Vergennes . . . [His] words . . . were sharp and penetrating . . . but the young prince whose decision was invoked was too weak to lead in affairs of magnitude . . . with the utmost firmness of will of which his feeble nature was capable, he was resolved that the peace of France should not be broken in his day. But deciding firmly against war [with Great Britain], he shunned the labor of further discussion; and indolently allowed

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his ministers to aid the Americans . . . the Marquis of Lafayette . . . whispered his purpose of joining the Americans . . . Besides disinterested and chivalrous volunteers, a crowd of selfish adventurers, officers who had been dropped from the French service under the reforms of Saint-Germain, and even Swiss and Germans, thronged Deane's apartments in quest of employment, and by large promises, sturdy importunity, or real or pretended recommendations from great men, wrung from him promiscuous engagements for high rank in the American army."

Deane himself writes, from Paris, December 1st: "... emigrations from Europe will be prodigious immediately on²⁴ the establishment of American independency."

But we must look still further. Bancroft tells us: "The civilized world had the deepest interest in the result: for it involved the reform of the British Parliament, the emancipation of Ireland, the disinthralment of the people of France, the awakening of the nations of Europe. Even Hungary stretched forward to hear from the distance the gladsome sound; the Italians²⁵ recalled their days of unity and might." "In Spain, the interest in America was confined to the Court . . . the catholic king was averse to hostile measures; his chief minister wished not to raise up a republic on the western continent, but only to let England worry and exhaust herself by a long civil war."

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XI

THE FIREWORKS OF 1776

ON the very day the Declaration was adopted, Congress, as we have seen, ordered "That copies¹ of the declaration be [printed and] sent to² the several assemblies, conventions & committees or councils of safety and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops . . ."

In pursuance of this order, Hancock, on the 5th, enclosed to the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania "a copy of the Declaration of Independence, which I am directed", he says, "to request you will have proclaimed in your Colony in the way and manner which you shall judge best . . . The important consequences flowing from the Declaration of Independence . . . will naturally suggest the propriety of proclaiming it in such a mode that the people may be universally informed of it." Another copy he enclosed to the Convention of New Jersey.³ The next day, a similar letter was sent to the Convention of New York⁴, to the Assembly of Massachusetts, to the Assembly of New Hampshire, to Governor Trumbull, to Governor Cooke, to Washington and to General Ward. The letter to Maryland and the letter to Virginia were dated the 8th.

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The Committee of Safety⁵ of Pennsylvania received its copy of this order of Congress of July 4th, which they immediately directed to be entered on their minutes, together with "copy of the Declaration", on the 6th⁶.

"[Pa] Letters were wrote⁷" by them immediately to the Counties of Bucks, Chester, Northampton, Lancaster and Berks, "Inclosing Copy⁸ of the said Declaration," and requesting that it be published on the next Monday at the places where the elections for Delegates to the Convention⁹ were to be held.

They then adjourned to 5 o'clock, when they¹⁰ "[Pa] Ordered, That the Sheriff of Philad'a read, or Cause to be read and proclaimed at the State House, in the City of Philadelphia, on [the same] Monday, the Eighth day of July, instant, at 12 o'Clock at Noon of the same day, the Declaration . . . and that he cause all his Officers, and the Constables of the said City, to attend the reading thereof. Resolved, That every Member of this Committee in or near the City, be ordered to meet at the Committee Chamber, before 12 o'Clock, on Monday, to proceed to the State House, where the Declaration . . . is to be proclaimed. The Committee of Inspection of the City and Liberties were requested to attend the Proclamation of Independence, at the State House, on Monday next, at 12 o'Clock."

On the same day, as appears from his *Diary*, Marshall, a member of the Committee of Inspection, "near eight, went to committee, Philosophical Hall . . . Agreed that the Declaration of Independence be declared at the State House next Second Day. At same

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time, the King's arms there are to be taken down by nine Associators, here appointed, who are to convey it to a pile of casks erected upon the commons, for the purpose of a bonfire, and the arms placed on the top. This being Election day, I opposed the motion, only by having this put off till next day, fearing it would interrupt the Election, but the motion was carried by a majority."

On Monday, the 8th^{11 12}, in accordance with the order and resolution of the Committee of Safety, "¹³ The Committee of Safety¹⁴, and Committee of Inspection, went in procession to the State House [in Philadelphia], where the Declaration¹⁵ . . . was read¹⁶ to a very large number of the Inhabitants¹⁷ of this city and county, which was received with general applause and heart-felt satisfaction. — "

John Adams, in his letter of July 9th to Chase, describes the scene thus: "[QyC] Yours of the 5th¹⁸ came to me the 8th — You will see¹⁹ by this Post, that the River is past and the Bridge cutt away. — The Declaration was yesterday published and proclaimed from that awfull Stage²⁰, in the State house yard, by whom do you think? by the Committee of Safety! the Committee of Inspection, and a great Crowd of People. Three Cheers rended the Welkin. — The Battalions²¹ paraded on the common, and gave Us the Feu de Joy, notwithstanding the Scarcity of Powder. The Bells rung all Day, and almost all night. Even the Chimers²², chimed away. The Election for the City was carried on amidst all this Lurry with the Utmost Decency, and order . . .²³ I agree with you, that We never can again be happy,

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under a single Particle of British Power. indeed this Sentiment is very universal. — The Arms, are taken down from every public Place.”

“²⁴ . . . in the evening ²⁵ [of the 8th] our late King’s coat of arms was brought ²⁶ from the Hall, in the State-House, where the said King’s Courts ²⁷ were formerly held, and burned amidst the acclamations of a crowd of spectators.”

George Ross, as chairman, also *on the 6th* writes, “In Committee, Lancaster,” to Colonel Galbraith (evidently at Elizabethtown): “We this day received ²⁸ the enclosed resolves of the Congress as to the Independency of the United States of America, which we forward to you for the regulation of your conduct in the present alarming situation of our affairs. The battalions in this town were this day drawn out . . .”

The Declaration was received at Easton, Northampton County, on the 8th. On the same day — the day of the celebration in Philadelphia —, “²⁹ The Colonel and all other field officers of the first battalion repaired to the court-house, the light infantry company marching there with drums beating, fifes playing, and the standard (the device for which is the thirteen United Colonies) which was ordered to be displayed, and after that the Declaration was read aloud to a great number of spectators, who gave their hearty assent with three loud huzzas, and cried out MAY GOD LONG PRESERVE and UNITE the FREE and INDEPENDANT STATES of AMERICA.”³⁰

The Declaration, as seen, was formally approved by the Convention of Pennsylvania on July 25th.

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³¹ On the same day (the 8th) that the Declaration was read in Philadelphia and in Easton, it (together with the new State Constitution, adopted on the 2d) was proclaimed at Trenton. “³² The members of the Provincial Congress, the gentlemen of the committee, the officers and privates of the militia, under arms, and a large concourse of the inhabitants, attended on this great and solemn occasion. The declaration, and other proceedings, were received with loud acclamations.”

We are still more interested in the scene at Princeton on the following night. “³³ Nassawhall was grandly illuminated, and INDEPENDENCY proclaimed under a triple volley of musketry, and universal acclamation for the prosperity of the UNITED STATES. The ceremony was conducted with the greatest decorum.”

The Declaration reached New Brunswick, according to Charles D. Deshler³⁴, on the 9th³⁵ and was proclaimed there on either the same or the next day. He gives an interesting account of the scene, which, he says, he had from his grandfather, Dr. Jacob Dunham: “When the Declaration of Independence was brought to New Brunswick, I was a boy about nine years old. There was great excitement in the town over the news, most of the people rejoicing that we were free and independent, but a few looking very sour over it . . . The Declaration was brought by an express rider, who was at once furnished with a fresh horse, and despatched on his way to New York. The County Committee and the Town Committee were immediately convened, and it was decided that the Declaration should be read in the public street [Albany Street], in front of the White Hall tavern,

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that the reader should be Colonel John Neilson, and that the members of the two committees should exert themselves to secure the attendance of as many as possible of the staunch friends of independence, so as to overawe any disaffected Tories, and resent any interruption of the meeting that they might attempt. Although these Tories were not numerous, they were, most of them, men of wealth and influence, and were very active. Accordingly, at the time appointed [I cannot now recall the hour, if, indeed, my grandfather stated it], the Whigs assembled in great force, wearing an air of great determination. A stage was improvised in front of the White Hall tavern, and from it Colonel Neilson, surrounded by the other members of the committee, read the Declaration with grave deliberation and emphasis. At the close of the reading there was prolonged cheering. A few Tories were present; but although they sneered, and looked their dissatisfaction in other ways, they were prudent enough not to make any demonstration."

"³⁶ A letter written by Major Barber to Mr. Caldwell, on the seventeenth of the same month, informs us how the news of independence was received by Colonel Dayton's New Jersey command — then at Fort Stanwix. After the Declaration had been read, cannons fired, and huzzas given, the battalion was formed in a circle with three barrels of grog in the center. The Colonel took a cup and drank to the toast — 'God bless the United States of America.' The other officers followed, drinking the same toast, as did afterwards the battalion, accompanied by loud hurrahs, shouting, and other signals of approbation."

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The Provincial Congress, on the 17th, resolved that they would support the freedom of the "States with our lives and fortunes, and with the whole force of New-Jersey."

Bridgetown did not proclaim the Declaration until August 7th; but its reception of the instrument was no less spirited than that of the places already described. The Committee of Inspection for the County (Cumberland), "the officers of the militia, and a great number of other inhabitants, having met . . . went in procession to the Court-House, where the Declaration . . . the Constitution of New-Jersey, and the Treason Ordinance, were publicly read, and unanimously approved of. These were followed with a spirited Address by Dr. Elmer, Chairman of the Committee; after which the Peace Officers' staves, on which were depicted the King's Coat of Arms, with other ensigns of royalty, were burnt in the street. The whole was conducted with the greatest decency and regularity. The following, being the substance of the before mentioned Address is published at the particular request of the Committee and all who were present: 'Gentlemen of the Committee, Officers of the Militia, and Gentlemen spectators: From what has now been read, you see the long wished for, but much dreaded period has arrived, in which the connexion between Great Britain and America is totally dissolved, and these Colonies declared Free and Independent States. As this is an event of the greatest importance, it must afford satisfaction to every intelligent person to reflect, that it was brought about by unavoidable necessity on our part, and has been con-

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ducted with a prudence and moderation becoming the wisest and best of men. With the Independency of the American States a new era in politicks has commenced. Every consideration respecting the propriety or impropriety of a separation from Britain, is now entirely out of the question ; and we have now no more to do with the King and people of England, than we have with the King and people of France or Spain. No people under Heaven were ever favoured with a fairer opportunity of laying a sure foundation for future grandeur and happiness than we. The plan of Government established in most States and Kingdoms of the world, has been the effect of chance or necessity : ours of sober reason and cool deliberation. Our future happiness or misery, therefore, as a people, will depend entirely upon ourselves. If, actuated by principles of virtue and genuine patriotism, we make the welfare of our country the sole aim of all our actions ; if we intrust none but persons of abilities and integrity with the management of our publick affairs ; if we carefully guard against corruption and undue influence in the several departments of Government ; if we are steady and zealous in putting the laws in strict execution ; — the spirit and principles of our new Constitution, which we have just now heard read, may be preserved for a long time. But if faction and party spirit, the destruction of popular Governments, take place, anarchy and confusion will soon ensue, and we shall either fall an easy prey to a foreign enemy, or some factious and aspiring demagogue, possessed of popular talents and shining qualities — a Julius Cæsar or an Oliver Cromwell — will spring up among ourselves, who,

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taking advantage of our political animosities, will lay violent hands on the Government, and sacrifice the liberties of his country to his own ambitious and domineering humour. God grant that neither of these may ever be the unhappy fate of this or any of the United States. To prevent which, while we are striving to defend ourselves against the unjust encroachments of a foreign and unnatural enemy, let us not neglect to keep a strict and jealous eye over our own internal police and Constitution. Let the fate of Greece, Rome, Carthage, and Great Britain, warn us of our danger; and the loss of liberty in all those States, for want of timely guarding against the introduction of tyranny and usurpation, be a standing admonition to us, to avoid the rock on which they have all been shipwrecked. Let us, as good citizens and sincere lovers of our country, exert ourselves in the defence of our State and in support of our new Constitution; but while we strive to vindicate the glorious cause of liberty on the one hand, let us, on the other hand, carefully guard against running into the contrary extreme of disorder and licentiousness. In our present situation, engaged in a bloody and dangerous war with the power of Great Britain, for the defence of our lives, our liberties, our property, and everything that is dear and valuable, every member of this State who enjoys the benefits of its civil government, is absolutely bound, by the immutable law of self-preservation, the laws of God and of society, to assist in protecting and defending it. This is so plain and self-evident a proposition, that I am persuaded every person here makes it the rule of his conduct on all occasions; and consequently, in a time of

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such imminent danger, will be extremely careful, at our ensuing election, not to intrust any one with the management of our publick affairs who has not, by his vigilance and activity in the cause of liberty, proved himself to be a true friend to his country. The success, gentlemen, of our present glorious struggle wholly depends upon this single circumstance. For though the situation and extent of the United States of America and our numberless internal resources, are sufficient to enable us to bid defiance to all Europe, yet should we be so careless about our own safety as to intrust the affairs of our State, while the bayonet is pointed at our breasts, to persons whose conduct discovers them to be enemies to their country, or whose religious principles will not suffer them to lift a hand for our defence, our ruin will inevitably follow. As it is impossible for any one possessed of the spirit of a man, who is a friend to the United States, and whose conscience does not furnish him with an excuse to stand by, an idle spectator, while his country is struggling and bleeding in her own necessary defence, all such inactive persons ought therefore to be shunned as enemies or despised as cowards. And as I have reason to believe that many who plead conscience as an excuse are sincere in their pretensions, and as every man's conscience ought to be free from compulsion, this single consideration should restrain us from forcing such into any of the departments of Government. For to put such persons, at this time, in places of publick trust, is actually to deprive them of liberty of conscience ; for we thereby compel them either to betray the trust reposed in them, or to act contrary to the

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dictates of their own consciences ; a dilemma in which, act as they will, their conduct must be criminal. Besides, if we consulted only our own safety, it is plain, that to intrust the affairs of our Government, at this juncture, to such people, is as dangerous as to intrust the management of a ship in a violent storm to an infant or an idiot. As a friend to my country and a lover of liberty, I thought it my duty to address you on this occasion ; and having now, as a faithful member of society, discharged my duty, I shall leave you to the exercise of your own judgment, and conclude with a request, that you would conduct yourself this day in such a manner as to convince the publick that your abhorrence of the cruel and bloody Nero of Britain, and his despicable minions of tyranny and oppression, arises, not from the mere impulse of blind passion and prejudice, but from sober reason and reflection ; and while we rejoice in being formally emancipated from our haughty and imperious task-masters, let us remember that the final termination of this grand event is not likely to be brought about without shedding the blood of many of our dear friends and countrymen.’ ”

“ The message [of M:Kean ³⁷] no sooner reached him [Cæsar Rodney, in Delaware],” says Sanderson ³⁸, “ than, laying aside all other engagements, he hastened to Philadelphia, where he arrived just in time to give his vote, and secure the unanimity of the daring measure. He transmitted an account of it to Dover on the same day ³⁹ ; and his friend colonel Haslet, in acknowledging his letter on the sixth of July, thus refers to it. ‘ I con-

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gratulate you, sir, on the important day which restores to every American his birthright; a day which every freeman will record with gratitude, and the millions of posterity read with rapture. Ensign Wilson arrived here last night; a fine turtle feast at Dover, anticipated and announced the declaration of congress; even the barrister himself laid aside his airs of reserve, mighty happy.' At the time Mr. Rodney's letter reached Dover, the election of officers of a new battalion was going on; the committee of safety, however, immediately met, and after receiving the intelligence proceeded in a body to the court house, where (the election being stopped) the president read the Declaration of congress . . . which received the highest approbation of the people, in three huzzas. The committee then went in a body back to their room, where they sent for a picture of the king of Great Britain, and made the drummer of the infantry bear it before the president; they then marched two and two, followed by the light infantry in slow time, with music, round the square, then forming a circle about a fire prepared in the middle of the square for that purpose, the president, pronouncing the following words, committed it to the flames; 'Compelled by strong necessity thus we destroy even the shadow of that king who refused to reign over a free people.' Three loud huzzas were given by the surrounding crowd; and the friends of liberty gained new courage, to support the cause in which they had embarked."

Hancock's letter to Washington, accompanied by "the enclosed ⁴⁰ Declaration," requested him, as we have seen,

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to "have it proclaimed at the Head of the Army in the Way, you shall think most proper."

Washington was then in New York City⁴¹, and, as shown by his *orders*, made the following order on the 9th⁴²: "[S] The Hon. the Continental Congress, impelled by the dictates of duty, policy and necessity, having been pleased to dissolve the Connection which subsisted between this Country, and Great Britain, and to declare the United Colonies of North America, free and independent STATES The several brigades are to be drawn up this evening on their respective Parades, at six O'clock, when the Declaration of Congress, shewing the grounds & reasons of this measure, is to be read with an audible voice. The General hopes this important Event will serve as a free incentive to every officer, and soldier, to act with Fidelity and Courage, as knowing that now the peace and safety of his Country depends (under God) solely on the success of our arms: And that he is now in the service of a State, possessed of sufficient power to reward his merit, and advance him to the highest Honors of a free Country. The Brigade Majors are to receive, at the Adjutant Generals Office, several of the Declarations⁴³ to be delivered to the Brigadiers General, and the Colonels of regiments."

In accordance with this order, as Lossing tells us, "[H] The brigades⁴⁴ were formed⁴⁵ in hollow squares on their respective parades. One of these brigades was encamped on the 'Commons,' where the New York City Hall now stands." "[H] The venerable Zackariah Greene . . . yet (1852) living at Hempstead, at the age of ninety-three years, informed me that he belonged

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to . . . [this] brigade . . . The hollow square was formed at about the spot where the Park Fountain now is. He says that Washington was within the square, on horseback, and that the Declaration was read⁴⁶ in a clear voice by one of his aids."

Washington himself, in a letter of the 10th to Congress, describes the scene—quite simply—thus: "47 Agreeable to the request of Congress I caused the Declaration to be proclaimed before all⁴⁸ the Army under my immediate Command, and have the pleasure to inform them, that the measure seemed to have their hearty assent; the Expressions and behaviour both of Officers and men testifying their warmest approbation of it [.]"

His statement is confirmed by⁴⁹ Colonel Seymour, in a letter to Trumbull, dated the 11th⁵⁰: "The enemy⁵¹ are constantly in view, upon and at Staten-Island . . . Independency is highly approved by the Army."

"52 The same evening⁵³ [the 9th] the equestrian statue of George III.⁵⁴ which Tory pride and folly raised in the year 1770, was, by the sons of freedom⁵⁵, laid prostrate in the dirt, the just desert of an ungrateful tyrant! The lead wherewith this monument was made is to be⁵⁶ run into bullets, to assimilate with the brain of our infatuated adversaries, who to gain a peppercorn [referring to Lord Clare's speech in the House of Commons: that a peppercorn, in acknowledgment of Britain's right to tax America, was of more importance than millions without it], have lost an empire. '*Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat.*' A gentleman, who was present at this ominous fall of leaden Majesty, looking back to the original's hopeful beginning pertinently exclaimed, in the language of the Angel to

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Lucifer, 'If thou be'st he! but ah, how fallen! How changed!'"

The next day, "⁵⁷ In pursuance of the Declaration of Independency, a general gaol delivery with respect to debtors, took place . . ."

Alexander Graydon, whose regiment (Shee's) and Magaw's, of Pennsylvania, were encamped upon the ground on which Fort Washington ⁵⁸ was erected, says ⁵⁹ that the Declaration was, "when received, read to the respective regiments. If it was not embraced with all the enthusiasm that has been ascribed to the event, it was at least hailed with acclamations . . . The propriety of the measure had been little canvassed among us . . . Being looked upon as unavoidable, if resistance was to be persisted in, it was approved; and produced no resignations among the officers that I am aware of, except that of Lieutenant-Colonel William Allen . . . who was with his regiment in Canada."

The Declaration was read at Ticonderoga ⁶⁰ on the 28th, "⁶¹ immediately after divine worship . . . by Col. St. Clair, and having said, 'God save the Free Independent States of America!' the army manifested their joy with three cheers. It was remarkably pleasing to see the spirits of the soldiers so raised after all their calamities; the language of every man's countenance was, Now we are a people! we have a name among the states of this world."

The first publication of the Declaration *in pursuance of the resolution of the Convention* would seem to have been at White Plains, where the Convention was sitting. This was doubtless on the 11th.⁶²

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The formal publication in pursuance of the same resolution⁶³ in New York City took place on the 18th, “⁶⁴ at the City Hall⁶⁵, when a number of true Friends to the Rights and Liberties of America attended, and signified their approbation by loud acclamations. After which, the British arms from over the seat of Justice in the Court House, was taken down, exposed, torn to pieces and burnt. Another British arms, wrought in stone, in the front of the pediment without, was thrown to the ground and broke to pieces, and the picture of King George III. which had been placed in the Council Chamber, was thrown out, broke, torn to pieces, and burnt, of all which the people testified their approbation by repeated huzzas.⁶⁶ The same day, we hear, the British arms from all the churches in the city, were ordered⁶⁷ to be removed and destroyed.”

Governor Tryon — from the “Ship Duchess of Gordon, off Staten-Island” — writes to Lord George Germaine, August 14th: “The confederated Colonies have declared themselves independent States. Enclosed is a printed copy⁶⁸ of their Declaration of Independency, which was published through the streets of New-York the middle of last month, where the King’s statue has been demolished, as well as the King’s arms in the City Hall, the established churches shut up, and every vestige of Royalty, as far as has been in the power of the Rebels, done away . . .”

The celebration at Huntington, Long Island, took place on July 22d. “⁶⁹. . . the *Freedom and Independency*, of the Thirteen United Colonies, was, with beat of drum, proclaimed at the several places of parade, by reading

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the DECLARATION . . . together with the Resolutions of our *Provincial Convention* thereupon; which were approved and applauded by the animated shouts of the people, who were present from all the distant quarters of this district. After which, the flag which used to wave on Liberty-pole, having *Liberty* on one side, and *George III.* on the other, underwent a reform, i. e. the Union was cut off, and the letters GEORGE III. were discarded, being publickly ripped off; and then an effigy of the Personage, represented by those letters, being hastily fabricated out of base materials, with its face black like *Dunmore's* Virginia Regiment, its head adorned with a wooden crown, and its head stuck full of feathers, like *Carleton* and *Johnson's* Savages, and its body wrapped in the Union, instead of a blanket or robe of State, and lined with gunpowder, which the original seems to be fond of. — The whole, together with the letters above mentioned, was hung on a gallows, exploded and burnt to ashes. In the evening the *Committee* of this town, with a large number of the principle inhabitants sat around the genial board and drank 13 patriotic toasts, among which were, *The free and independent States of America*; — *The General Congress*; — *The Conventions of the 13 States*; — *Our principal military Commanders, and success and enlargement to the American Navy*: Nor was the Memory of our late brave heroes, who have gloriously lost their lives in the cause of liberty, and their Country, forgotten."

⁷⁰ Almost immediately after the adoption of the Declaration, "⁷¹ about 150 tories in the Nine-Partners and

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places adjacent [in Connecticut], rose in a body, fell upon the sons of liberty there, disarmed them, and took possession of the Committee Chamber." The uprising was "quelled by a party of near 3000 men from the western parts" of the Colony. About twenty were taken and confined in prison.

No record has come down to us, however, of the proclamation of the Declaration (in Connecticut); and it seems almost certain that it was never, at least officially, proclaimed.

The data upon the subject are mostly in the minutes of the Governor (Trumbull) and Council of Safety. Among the Council were Williams and Hosmer, alternates to Congress, and Dyer.

The entry here for July 11th is: "Congress Declaration of Independency received in a letter from Colonel Trumbull⁷² to me⁷³." Those for the 12th⁷⁴ say: "Letters from the Congress of the 6th instant came in, by express, containing information of their late Declaration of Independence, and a copy of it, requesting the same to be duly published, &c." "The matter and manner of publishing the Independency as recommended by Congress largely discoursed, and many things given out relative to the matter, &c., and concluded to lay by for the present period." On the 18th, "The matter of publishing the Independency [was] taken up again, and largely discoursed . . . and finally thought best⁷⁵ to let the matter of publishing the Independency remain for the determination of the General Assembly at their next stated session."

The Assembly did not meet, however, until October;

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and, though they approved (on the 10th) the Declaration, they said nothing regarding its *proclamation*.

Meanwhile, according to an item in a newspaper, headed Hartford, Monday, July 29th, "⁷⁶ Last Sunday a Child was baptized by the Rev. Mr. Perry of East Windsor, by the Name of INDEPENDENCE."

On December 16th, Mathew McHugh, an innkeeper of Lebanon, was committed to gaol for declaring against the Declaration.

Governor Cooke — at Providence — received the letter of Hancock at least as early as the 16th; for, on that day, he acknowledges it, and writes, to Washington: "I have also received from Congress the Declaration of Independency, and daily expect the Treaty of Confederation and Union, which hath induced me to call the General Assembly to meet on Thursday next [the 18th], when, I can safely assure you, they will give to both a hearty assent and concurrence."

It was laid before the General Assembly on the day appointed and approved.

Newport held her celebration two days later (July 20th). "⁷⁷ . . . the General Assembly . . . being then sitting at the State-house in this town, at twelve o'clock, the brigade stationed here, under the command of the Colonels William Richmond and Christopher Lippitt, Esqrs, marched from head-quarters, and drew up in two columns, on each side the parade, before the Statehouse door; his honor the Governor and members of Assembly then marched through and received the compliments of the brigades; afterwards the Secretary read, at the head

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of the brigade, a resolve of the Assembly concurring with the Congress in the Declaration of Independence, the Declaration ⁷⁸ itself was then read; next thirteen cannon were discharged at fort Liberty; the brigade then drew up and fired in thirteen divisions, from east to west, agreeable to the number and situation of the United States. The Declaration was received with joy and applause by all ranks. The whole was conducted with great solemnity and decorum."

It is of this occasion that Cooke — still at Providence — writes (on the 23d) when he says: "The Declaration was published on Saturday last, at Newport, with great solemnity, in presence of the whole General Assembly, the brigade being under arms, thirteen cannon fired, &c. It will be published here on Thursday, and in the several towns in the Colony, at their next stated meetings."

The day this letter was written, "⁷⁹ The Kentish guards [in East Greenwich], commanded by Col. Richard Fry, appeared in their uniforms; about 12 o'clock they drew up on the parade before the State-House when the Declaration . . . was read; likewise a resolve of the Assembly concurring with the same; which was announced by a discharge of thirteen cannon at Fort Daniel; next the guards fired thirteen volleys; this was followed by three huzzas from a numerous body of inhabitants; they then repair'd to Arnold's Hall, where, after partaking of a very decent collation, the following patriotic toasts were drunk: 1. The Thirteen United States of America. 2. The General Congress of the American States. 3. General Washington. 4. The

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American army. 5. Augmentation of the American navy. 6. In memory of those immortal heroes who have fallen in the American cause. 7. May a happy rule of government be established in the State of Rhode-Island. 8. American manufactures. 9. Free trade with all the world. 10. May true patriotism warm the breast of every American. 11. May the independency of the American States be firmly established, and a speedy peace take place. 12. May Liberty expand her sacred wings, and in glorious effort diffuse her influence o'er and o'er the globe."

The demonstrations in Providence took place (Thursday, the 25th) as expected, at 11 o'clock. "80. . . the Governour, attended by such members of the Upper and Lower Houses of Assembly as were in town, and a number of the inhabitants went in procession to the State-House, escorted by the Cadet and Light Infantry companies, where at twelve o'clock was read the act of Assembly concurring with [the Declaration] . . . the Declaration was also read, at the conclusion of which thirteen volleys were fired by the Cadets and Light Infantry; the Artillery Company next fired 13 cannon, and a like number of new cannon (cast at Hope Furnace) were discharged at the Great Bridge; the ships Alfred and Columbus likewise fired 13 guns each, in honour of the day — At 2 o'clock his Honour the Governour, attended and escorted as above, proceeded to Hacker's-hall, where an elegant entertainment was provided on the occasion; after dinner the following toasts were drank, viz. 1. The 13 free and Independent states of America. 2. The Most Hon. the General Congress. 3. The Army and

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Navy of the United States. 4. The State of Rhode-Island and Providence plantations. 5. The Commerce of the United States. 6. Liberty to those who have spirit to assert it. 7. The friends of the United States in every part of the earth. 8. General Washington. 9. The Officers of the American army and navy. 10. May the Crowns of tyrants be crowns of thorns. 11. The memory of the brave officers and men who have fallen in defence of American Liberty. 12. May the Constitution of each separate State have for its object the preservation of the civil and religious rights of mankind. 13. May the Union of the States be established in justice and mutual confidence, and be as permanent as the pillars of nature. The artillery company, and a number of other gentlemen, dined the same day at Lindsey's tavern, when the following toasts were drank: 1. The Free and Independent States of America. 2. The General Congress of the American States. 3. The Hon. JOHN HANCOCK, Esq; 4. His Excellency General Washington. 5. His Excellency General Lee. 6. The brave Carolinians. 7. Success to General Gates and the Northern army. 8. May the subtilty of the American Standard destroy the ferocity of the British lion. 9. The State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. 10. The Hon. Governour Cooke. 11. May the Independent States of America forever be an asylum for liberty. 12. The American army and navy. 13. The Providence Independent company. The whole was conducted with great order and decency, and the declaration received with every mark of applause. Toward the evening the King of Great Britain's coat of arms was

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taken from the late public office, as was also the sign from the crown coffee-house and burnt."

As we have seen, Hancock forwarded a copy of the Declaration to the General Court of Massachusetts on July 6th.⁸¹ Three days later, Washington also sent them a copy; and, on the day after, he writes to the President of Congress: "⁸²I have transmitted a Copy to General Ward at Boston, requesting him to have it proclaimed to the Continental Troops in that Department."

The Declaration was first read publicly (in Massachusetts), it is claimed, by Isaiah Thomas, then only twenty-seven years of age. "⁸³In a letter in possession of Daniel Seagrave, dated July 2, 1897, Charles W. Burbank of Worcester writes that Samuel Smith, when city clerk of Worcester, told him the story of the reading of the Declaration as related by Capt. Benjamin Flagg, a resident of the town at the time — which was that 'at about noon on Sunday, July 14th, 1776, a messenger on his way to Boston stopped at one of the taverns on Main street for dinner for himself and team. While waiting for his team to eat and rest he was met by Isaiah Thomas, who obtained from him a copy of the Declaration, which he took to the church and read from the porch⁸⁴, which was on the west side of the building.'"

In the Meeting House at Watertown on Tuesday, the 16th⁸⁵, occurred perhaps the most striking incident of all those which have come down to us. The Council of the Colony (and House of Representatives) — representing the other Colonies also — and delegates from St. John's and Michmac Tribes of Nova Scotia were then in con-

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ference; and the Declaration was interpreted and a copy of it exhibited to the Indians, and they were told by Bowdoin, the President, that they and the Americans were no longer subjects of the King.

On the next day, the council “⁸⁶ ORDERED, That the Declaration of Independence be printed⁸⁷; and a copy sent to the Ministers of each Parish, of every Denomination, within this State; and that they severally be *required* to read⁸⁸ the same to their respective Congregations, as soon as divine Service is ended, in the afternoon, on the first Lord’s-Day after they shall have received it: . . . And after such Publication thereof, to deliver the said Declaration to the Clerks of their several Towns, or Districts; who are hereby required to record the same in their respective town, or District Book there to remain as a *perpetual* Memorial thereof.”

Already, on Monday as it would seem, at Southampton, “⁸⁹ The old Gentlemen, Grandfathers to the age of seventy years old, and upwards, [had] met, agreeable to appointment, and formed themselves into an independent company . . . and unanimously made choice of Elias Pelletreau Esq; for their leader, (with other suitable officers) who made a very animating speech to them, on the necessity of holding themselves in readiness to go into the field in time of invasion; they chearfully agreed to it, and determined, at the risk of their lives to defend the Free and Independent States of America. — ”

Thursday, July 18th, was the great day in Boston⁹⁰.

According to a newspaper account, the Declaration, “⁹¹ pursuant to an order of the Honorable Council, was proclaimed from the Balcony of the State-House . . .

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There were present on the occasion, in the Council Chamber, the Committee of Council, a number of the Honorable House of Representatives, the Magistrates, Ministers, Selectmen, and other gentlemen of Boston and the neighbouring towns; also the commission officers of the Continental Regiments stationed here [Boston], and other officers. Two of those regiments were under arms in King⁹²-street, formed into three lines on the north side of the street, and in thirteen divisions; and a detachment from the Massachusetts Regiment of artillery, with 2 pieces of cannon, was on their right wing. At one o'clock the Declaration was proclaimed by Colonel Thomas Crafts [Sheriff of Suffolk County], which was received with great joy, expressed by three huzzas from a great concourse of people assembled on the occasion. After which, on a signal given, thirteen pieces of cannon were fired from the fort on Fort-hill, the forts at Dorchester Neck, the Castle, Nantasket, and Point Alderton, likewise discharged their cannon: Then the detachment of Artillery fired their cannon thirteen times, which was followed by the two regiments giving their fire from the thirteen divisions in succession. These firings corresponded to the number of the American States United. The ceremony was closed with a proper collation to the Gentlemen in the Council Chamber; during which the following toasts were given by the President of the Council, and heartily pledged by the Company, viz: *Prosperity and perpetuity to the United States of America. The American Congress. The General Court of the State of Massachusetts-Bay. General WASHINGTON, and success to the Arms of the United States. The downfall of*

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tyrants and tyranny. The universal prevalence of civil and religious liberty. The friends of the United States in all quarters of the globe. The bells in town were rung on the occasion, and undissembled festivity cheered and brightened every face. On the same evening the King's arms, and every sign with a resemblance of it, whether lion and crown, pestle and mortar and crown, heart and crown, &c, together with every sign that belonged to a tory was taken down and the latter made a general conflagration of in King⁸³ street."

"⁸⁴ There was published some years since in the (British) *United Service Journal* an account of the way independence was first proclaimed in Boston, written by a British officer, who in June 1776, had been captured on board a transport in the bay, and was then held as a prisoner in the town. He was invited, with other officers then on parole, to the Town House, on the 18th of July. 'As we passed through the town,' he says, 'we found it thronged; all were in their holiday suits; every eye beamed with delight, and every tongue was in rapid motion. The streets adjoining the Council Chamber were lined with detachments of infantry tolerably equipped, while in front of the jail (Court Street) artillery was drawn up, the gunners with lighted matches. The crowd opened a lane for us, and the troops gave us, as we mounted the steps, the salute due to officers of our rank . . . Exactly as the clock struck one, Colonel Crafts, who occupied the chair, rose and read aloud the Declaration. This being finished, the gentlemen stood up, and each, repeating the words as they were spoken by an officer, swore to uphold the rights of his country. Mean-

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while the town clerk read from a balcony the Declaration to the crowd; at the close of which a shout, begun in the hall, passed to the streets, which rang with loud huzzas, the slow and measured boom of cannon, and the rattle of musketry . . . There was a banquet in the Council Chamber, where all the richer citizens appeared; large quantities of liquor were distributed among this mob; and when night closed in, darkness was dispelled by a general illumination.' . . . It was now in front of the historic Bunch of Grapes tavern, on the upper corner of State and Kilby streets, that all portable signs of royalty in the town, — such as the arms from the Town House, the Court House, and the Custom House, — were brought and thrown in a pile to make a bonfire."

Yet another, and perhaps even more interesting account, is found in a letter of the 21st from Mrs. (Abigail) Adams to her husband, John Adams. She says: "[Ad] Last Thursday, after hearing a very good sermon, I went with the multitude into King Street to hear the Proclamation for Independence read and proclaimed. Some field-pieces with the train were brought there. The troops appeared under arms, and all the inhabitants assembled there (the small-pox prevented many thousands from the country), when Colonel Crafts read from the balcony of the State House the proclamation. Great attention was given to every word. As soon as he ended, the cry from the balcony was, 'God save our American States,' and then three cheers which rent the air. The bells rang, the privateers fired, the forts and batteries, the cannon were discharged, the platoons followed, and every face appeared joyful. Mr. Bowdoin then gave a senti-

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ment, 'Stability and perpetuity to American Independence.' After dinner, the King's Arms were taken down from the State House, and every vestige of him from every place in which it appeared, and burnt in King Street. Thus ends royal authority in this State. And all the people shall say Amen."

Watertown honored the newly declared independence on the same day (the 18th). "⁹⁸. . . a number of the members of the Council (who were prevented attending the ceremony at Boston, on account of the small pox being there) together with those of the Hon. House of Representatives who were in town and a number of other Gentlemen assembled at the Council Chamber . . . where the said declaration was also proclaimed by the Secretary, from one of the windows: after which the Gentlemen present partook of a decent collation prepared on the occasion, and drank a number of constitutional Toasts, and then retired . . . The King's arms . . . was on Saturday last [July 20th], also defaced."

The (at least main) celebration at Worcester took place on the 22d. "⁹⁸. . . a number of patriotic gentlemen of this town, animated with a love of their country . . . assembled on the green near the liberty pole, where after having displayed the colours of the Thirteen Confederate Colonies of America, the bells were set a ringing, and the drums a beating: After which, the Declaration . . . was read to a large and respectable body (among whom were the Select-men and Committee of Correspondence) assembled on the occasion, who testified their approbation by repeated huzzas, firing of musquetry and cannon, bon-fires, and other demonstrations of joy — when the arms

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of that Tyrant in Britain, George the III. of execrable memory which in former reigns decorated, but of late disgraced the Court-House in this town, were committed to the flames and consumed to ashes ; after which a select company of the Sons of Freedom repaired to the Tavern, lately known by the sign of the King's Arms, which odious sinature of despotism was taken down by order of the people, which was chearfully complied with by the Innkeeper, where the following toasts were drank, and the Evening spent with joy, on the commencement of the happy æra. 1. Prosperity and perpetuity to the United States of America. 2. The President of the General Council of America. 3. The Grand Council of America. 4. His Excellency General Washington. 5. All the Generals in the American Army. 6. Commodore Hopkins. 7. The Officers and Soldiers in the American Army. 8. The Officers and Seamen in the American Navy. 9. The patriots of America. 10. Every Friend of America. 11. George rejected and Liberty protected. 12. Success to the American Arms. 13. Sore Eyes to all Tories, and a Chesnut Burr for an Eye Stone. 14. Perpetual itching without the benefit of scratching to the Enemies of America. 15. The Council and Representatives of the State of Massachusetts-Bay. 16. The Officers and Soldiers in the Massachusetts service. 17. The Memory of the brave General Warren. 18. The memory of the magnanimous General Montgomery. 19 [19.] Speedy redemption to all the Officers and Soldiers who are now Prisoners of war among our Enemies. 20. The State of Massachusetts-Bay. 21. The town of Boston. 22. The Select-men and Committees of Corres-

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pondence for the town of Worcester. 13 [23]. May the Enemies of America be laid at her Feet. 24. May the Freedom and Independency of America endure till the Sun grows dim with age, and this Earth returns to Chaos. The greatest decency and good order, was observed, and at a suitable time each man returned to his respective home."

At Newburyport⁹⁷, on August 5th, "⁹⁸. . . the gentlemen belonging to the alarm list . . . were embodied on the Parade, where the Declaration⁹⁹ was published — On which joyful occasion many zealous friends to the Rights and Liberties of this Country, attended, and testified their cordial approbation, by loud acclamations, and the discharge of cannon and small arms."

Samuel Adams arrived¹⁰⁰ in Boston, August 28th.

On the same day, "the General Assembly . . . convened at Watertown, agreeable to adjournment"; and the Council — Bowdoin, Walter Spooner, Caleb Cushing, John Winthrop, Benjamin Chadbourn, Thomas Cushing, John Whetcomb, Benjamin Lincoln, Samuel Holten, Jabez Fisher, Richard Derby, Jr., Moses Gill, John Taylor, Benjamin White, William Phillips, Benjamin Austin, Joseph Cushing, David Sewell and D. Hopkins — sent a message to the House of Representatives which said: "This declaration we have ordered to be made publick, agreeable to the request of Congress, through every part of the Massachusetts-Bay, and we shall readily concur with you in expressing our approbation of the measure, and readiness to risk our lives and fortunes in defence and support of it." The House, in answer, expressed "their entire satisfaction in the Declaration of Independence . . ."

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Meshech Weare, at Exeter, answers Hancock's letter to the "Assembly", on the 16th: "It is with pleasure, I can assure you, that notwithstanding a very few months since many persons in this Colony were greatly averse to anything that looked like independence of Great Britain, the late measures planned and executing against us have so altered their opinions that such a Declaration was what they most ardently wished for; and I verily believe it will be received with great satisfaction throughout the Colony, a very few individuals excepted . . . P. S. The General Court and Committee of Safety sit at Exeter, where you will please to direct in future. This express went thirty miles out of his way, by being directed to Portsmouth."

Two days later, "¹⁰¹ (pursuant to an order of the Great and General Court of this state) the Independent Company under Col. Sherburne, and the Light-Infantry Company under Col. Langdon¹⁰², were drawn up on the parade [in Portsmouth], in their uniforms, when the Declaration¹⁰³ . . . was read, in the hearing of a numerous and respectable audience; the pleasing countenances of the many patriots present spoke a hearty concurrence in this interesting measure, which was confirmed by three huzzas, and all conducted in peace and good order."

August 1st was the day in Amherst. "¹⁰⁴ Pursuant to orders from the committee of safety for said State to the sheriff of said county [Hillsborough], requiring him to proclaim Independency in Amherst the shire-town of said county, The sheriff, attended by the militia, a great part of the magistrates of the county, and several hundred

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of other spectators met at the Meeting house in said town; and after attending prayer, were formed into a circle on the parade, the sheriff in the center on horse back, with a drawn sword in his hand: The Declaration was read from an eminence on the parade, after that was done, three cheers were given, colours flying, and drums beating; the militia fired in thirteen divisions attended with universal acclamations. The whole was performed with the greatest decorum."

The Council of Safety of Maryland — Jenifer, Charles Carroll and James Tilghman seeming to have been present — ordered, July 13th¹⁰⁶, "[Md] That Copies of the Letter¹⁰⁶ received from the President of the Congress, of the 8th Inst. be sent to the several committees of Observation in each County and District in this Province respectively." Its letters carrying out this order were dated the 16th. They said: "[Md] Inclosed we send you the declaration of Independence, and the Letter that accompanied it from Congress to the Convention . . . we transmit the Declaration to you that you may proclaim it in your County in the manner you Judge most proper for the Information of the People."

The Committee of Frederic County, Middle District, answered, by John Hanson, Jr., its chairman, on the 25th. The letter acknowledged the one from the Council to them "[Md] inclosing several resolves and the Declaration of Independency to the contents of which papers due attention will be paid."

The Committee of Baltimore, of which Samuel Purvi-

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ence was chairman, on the 23d, "Resolved, That on Monday next the Declaration . . . be proclaimed at the Court-House of the County," and "Ordered, That Messrs. William Smith, John Boyd, and Benjamin Levy, together with the General and Field Officers of the Town Battalion, and of the Independent Company, be a Committee to form the regulation of the procession . . . The Committee acquainted Mr. Robert Christie, Jun., (Sheriff of this County) of the time agreed on . . . and at the same time requested him to attend at the same time, and proclaim Independency; which he promised to do." When the day came, however, the Declaration "was proclaimed by Mr. William Aisquith, (Mr. Christie being out of Town:¹⁰⁷) Captain Nathaniel Smith's Company of Matrosses, Captain John Sterrett's Company of Independents, Captain John Smith's, Captain James Cox's, Captain George Wells's, and Captain William Richardson's Companies being drawn up under arms on the occasion."¹⁰⁸

The Declaration was laid (by the Council of Safety) before the Convention, August 16th¹⁰⁹. The Convention "Ordered, That the same be taken into consideration tomorrow morning." On the next day, — Chase, Goldsborough, Paca, Charles Carroll, Charles Carroll of Carrollton and (Matthew) Tilghman being present¹¹⁰ — it was resolved that the "Convention will maintain the freedom and independency of the United States, with their lives and fortunes." Two days later, "On motion, [it was] Ordered, That the Resolution of Saturday, respecting the Declaration of Independence, be published in the *Maryland Gazette*."

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John Page¹¹¹, President of the Council of Virginia, in acknowledging to Hancock¹¹² the receipt of the Declaration, mailed on the 8th, writes, July 20th, that the people "have been impatiently expecting it, and will receive it with joy."

On the same day, the Council "¹¹³ Ordered, That the printers publish¹¹⁴ in their respective Gazettes the DECLARATION . . . and that the sheriff of each county in this commonwealth proclaim the same at the door of his courthouse the first court day after he shall have received the same."

In pursuance of this "¹¹⁵ order of the Hon. Privy Council, the DECLARATION . . . was solemnly proclaimed" in Williamsburg on the afternoon of the 25th "at the Capitol, the Courthouse, and the Palace, amidst the acclamations of the people, accompanied by firing of cannon and musketry, the several regiments of continental troops having been paraded on that solemnity."

Eleven days later (August 5th), "¹¹⁶ being court day," it was proclaimed in Richmond, "before a large concourse of respectable freeholders of Henrico County, and upwards of 200 of the Militia, who assembled on that grand occasion. It was received with universal shouts of joy; and re-echoed by three vollies of small arms, The same evening the town was illuminated, and the members of the Committee held a club, when many patriotic toasts were drunk. Although there were near 1000 people present, the whole was conducted with the utmost decorum; and the satisfaction visible in every countenance sufficiently evinces their determination to support it with their lives and fortunes."

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The "goings on" in North Carolina — so far as they have come down to us — centered about Cornelius Harnett.

On July 22d¹¹⁷, the Council of Safety — having met at 8 o'clock in the morning — "[NC] Resolved That the Committees of the respective Towns and Counties in this Colony on receiving the . . . Declaration¹¹⁸, do cause the same to be proclaimed in the most public Manner in Order that the good people of this Colony may be fully informed thereof."

On the 25th, the same body, taking into consideration the fact that the "[NC] Declaration renders the Test as directed to be subscribed by the Congress at Halifax improper and Nugatory. Resolved, That a Test as follows be substituted in lieu thereof and subscribed by the Members of this Board: We the Subscribers do . . . Solemnly and sincerely promise and engage under the Sanction of Virtue honor and the sacred Love of Liberty and our country, to Maintain and support all and every the Acts, Resolutions and Regulations of the said Continental and provincial Congresses to the utmost of our powers and Abilities. In Testimony whereof we have hereto set our Hands at Halifax, this 24th day of July 1776. Corn' Harnett, Willie Jones, Tho' Person, Whitmill Hill, Thomas Eaton, John Simpson, Jos. Jno. Williams, Thos. Jones, James Coor."

Again, on the 27th, they "[NC] Resolved, That Thursday the first day of August next be set apart for proclaiming the said declaration at the Court House in the Town of Halifax; the freeholders and Inhabitants of the County of Halifax are requested to give their Attendance at the time and place aforesaid."

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“¹¹⁹ On the appointed day an immense concourse of people assembled at Halifax to witness the interesting ceremony of a public proclamation of the Declaration of Independence. The Provincial troops and militia companies were drawn up in full array, to witness the scene and to swear by their united acclamations to consummate the deed. At mid-day Cornelius Harnett ascended a rostrum which had been erected in front of the Court House, and then as he opened the scroll, upon which was written the immortal words of the Declaration, the enthusiasm of the immense crowd broke in one swell of rejoicing and prayer. The reader proceeded to his task, and read the Declaration to the mute and impassioned multitude with the solemnity of an appeal to Heaven. When he had finished, all the people shouted with joy, and the cannon, sounding from fort, to fort, proclaimed the glorious tidings . . . The soldiers seized Mr. Harnett, and bore him on their shoulders through the streets of the town, applauding him as their champion, and swearing allegiance to the instrument he had read.”

Still further action — remedial in its nature — was taken by the Council of Safety on August 6th. “[NC] . . . as it appears that there is no Committee in the County of Cumberland, [they] Resolved, That Colonel Ebenezer Folesome and Colonel David Smith or either of them on receiving the said declaration call a General Meeting of the Inhabitants of the said County, and that they or either of them cause the same to be read and proclaimed in the most public manner in order that the good people of this State may be fully informed thereof . . .”

“¹²⁰ The Declaration ¹²¹ . . . was sent on by express,

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and received on the last of July ¹²² in Charleston", *South Carolina*.

Her Delegates — Thomas Lynch, Sr., Edward Rutledge, Arthur Middleton, Heyward and Thomas Lynch, Jr. — wrote, in their letter, dated Philadelphia, July 9th : " Enclosed also, are some other occasional resolutions of Congress, and a very important Declaration, which the King . . . has at last reduced us to the necessity of making. ¹²³ All the Colonies were united upon this great subject, except New-York, whose Delegates were restrained by an instruction given several months ago . . . P. S. The express is to be paid for every day that he is detained in Carolina."

The time was especially propitious; for the battle of Fort Moultrie had occurred on the 28th ¹²⁴ of June preceding, and the Colony had, therefore, at last, tasted some of the bitterness of war, with which the northern Colonies, directly or indirectly, had been long familiar.

" ¹²⁵ The importance of this measure was duly appreciated by the civil authorities, and they determined that the announcement should be as imposing and impressive as possible. The civil ¹²⁶ and military were all paraded, and the reverend gentlemen of the clergy of all denominations were invited, and did very generally unite to countenance and solemnize the ceremony. The Liberty Tree ¹²⁷, in Mazyehborough . . . was the favorite resort for all meetings of the people, with revolutionary objects, during the preceding ten or twelve years. The popular feeling for this tree associated with its name, induced the governor and council to select this as the place for the first declaration of independence. Thither the procession moved from the city, on the 5th of August, em-

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bracing all the young and old, of both sexes, who could be moved so far. Aided by bands of music, and uniting all the military of the country and city, in and near Charleston, the ceremony was the most splendid and solemn that ever had been witnessed in South-Carolina.¹²⁷ It was opened by prayers, offered up to the throne of the Most High, by the Rev. Mr. William Percy, of the Episcopal Church. The declaration was then read in the most impressive manner by Major Barnard Elliott, and closed with an elegant and appropriate address by the same reverend gentleman, inspiring the crowded audience with piety and patriotism. It was followed by a universal burst of applause, by loud huzzas and animating cheers. The infantry responded with a general *feu de joie*, and the discharge of cannon echoed and re-echoed the general enthusiasm . . . There were always secret enemies and informers in our country, and this ceremony was described soon after in the British prints with as much ridicule as possible. Among other circumstances, the day was said to have been very hot, and the reverend gentleman, while addressing the audience, was shaded by an umbrella, held over him by his servant, a negro man. As the crowd pressed forward, and the orator became warm with his ardor of patriotism, his countenance also glowed with the actual heat of the weather, the ardor of sunshine. The black servant was then observed to be fanning his master, while holding the umbrella over him, and the British Narrator observed on the circumstance :

“ Good Mr. Parson, it is not quite civil

To be preaching rebellion, thus fanned by the devil.”

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The General Assembly, however, was not in session, and did not convene until the 17th of September — and then only by proclamation of John Rutledge.

On the 19th, Rutledge¹²⁸ “delivered to both Houses” a speech in which he said: “Since your last meeting, the Continental Congress have declared the United Colonies free and independent States . . . an event which necessity had rendered not only justifiable but unavoidable. The Declaration, and several resolves of that honourable body received during your recess, shall be laid before you. I doubt not you will take such measures as may be requisite in consequence of them.”

This speech, on the same day, was referred to a committee composed of Rawlins Lowndes, Charles Pinckney, the Attorney General, Rev. William Tennent, John Edwards, John Neufville, Isaac Motte, Phillip Smith and Roger Smith; and, on the next day, Lowndes reported a draft of a reply, which declared: “It is with the most unspeakable pleasure we embrace this opportunity of expressing our joy and satisfaction in the declaration . . . declaring the United Colonies free and independent States, absolved from allegiance to the British Crown . . . an event unsought for, and now produced by unavoidable necessity . . .” Immediately upon the reading of this draft, a motion was made to strike out the words “unspeakable pleasure”, and a debate¹²⁹ ensued; but the amendment failed of being carried. The draft, however, was amended so that the reply, when adopted, on the same day, read: “It is with unspeakable pleasure we embrace this opportunity of expressing our satisfaction . . . constituting the United Colonies free and independent States . . .”

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This reply was presented to Rutledge on the 21st, in the Council Chamber, where he had come especially "to receive the House with their Address"; and, when "Mr. Speaker, with the House . . . returned [to its chamber], Mr. Speaker reported that he, with the House, having attended the President in the Council Chamber with their Address in answer to his Speech his Excellency had been pleased to reply in the following words: '. . . May the happiest consequences be derived . . . from the independence of America, who could not obtain even peace, liberty and safety by any other means.'"

The Legislative Council replied to the speech, on the 20th: "The Declaration . . . calls forth all our attention. It is an event which necessity has rendered not only justifiable but absolutely unavoidable. It is a decree now worthy of America. We thankfully receive the notification of and rejoice at it; and we are determined at every hazard to endeavour to maintain it . . ."

Rutledge responded to this reply, on the same day: "Your determination to endeavour to maintain the independence of the United States, at every hazard, proves that you know the value and are deserving of those rights for which America contends."

The Declaration was approved by the grand jury of Charleston on October 15th.

Very naturally, it also was late before Georgia celebrated the action of Congress in declaring independence. On August 10th, however, "¹³⁰ A Declaration being received from the Honourable John Hancock, Esq. . . . his Excellency the President [Bullock], and the Honourable the

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Council met in the Council-Chamber [in Savannah], and read the Declaration.— They then proceeded to the square before the Assembly House, and read it likewise to a great concourse of people, when the grenadier and light infantry companies fired a general volley. After this, they proceeded in the following procession to Liberty Pole:— The grenadiers in front— The Provost Marshal, on horseback, with his sword drawn— The Secretary with the Declaration— His Excellency the President— The Honourable the Council and gentlemen attending— Then the light infantry, and the rest of the militia of the town and district of Savannah. At the Liberty Pole they were met by the Georgia battalion, who, after the reading of the Declaration, discharged their field pieces, and fired in platoons. Upon this they proceeded to the battery, at the Trustees Gardens, where the Declaration was read for the last time, and the cannon of the battery discharged. His Excellency and Council, Col. Lachlan McIntosh, and other gentlemen, with the militia, dined under the cedar trees, and cheerfully drank to the United, Free, and Independant States of America. In the evening the town was illuminated, and there was exhibited a very solemn funeral procession, attended by the grenadier and light infantry companies, and other militia, with their drums, muffled, and fifes, and a greater number of people than ever appeared on any occasion before in this province, when George the Third was interred before the court-house in the following manner: ‘ Forasmuch as George the Third, of Great Britain, hath most flagrantly violated his coronation oath, and trampled upon the constitution of our country, and the sacred

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rights of mankind, we therefore commit his political existence to the ground, corruption to corruption, tyranny to the grave, and oppression to eternal infamy; in sure and certain hope that he will never obtain a resurrection to rule again over these United States of America; but my friends and fellow citizens, let us not be sorry, as men without hope, for TYRANTS that thus depart; rather let us remember America is free and independent, that she is, and will be, with the blessing of the Almighty, GREAT among the nations of the earth. Let this encourage us in well doing, to fight for our rights and privileges, for our wives and children, for all that is near and dear to us. May God give us his blessing, and let all the people say AMEN.' ”

“ ¹³¹ With similar joy was the Declaration of Independence welcomed in the other parishes of Georgia. St. John's Parish, the Home of Hall and Gwinnett, two of the signers, was most pronounced in its demonstrations of approval.”

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XII

THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY IN PHILADELPHIA

“¹ **F**RIDAY, the 4th of July inst. [1777] being the Anniversary of the Independence of the United States of America, was celebrated in this city [Philadelphia] with demonstrations of joy and festivity. About noon all the armed ships and gallies in the river were drawn up before the city, dressed in the gayest manner, with the colours of the United States and streamers displayed. At one o'clock, the yards being properly manned, they began the celebration of the day by a discharge of thirteen cannon from each of the ships, and one from each of the thirteen gallies, in honour of the thirteen United States. In the afternoon an elegant dinner was prepared for Congress, to which were invited the President and Supreme Executive Council, and Speaker of the Assembly of this State, the General Officers and Colonels of the army, and strangers of eminence, and the Members of the several Continental Boards in town. The Hessian band of music, taken in Trenton the 26th of December last, attended, and heightened the festivity with some fine performances suited to the joyous occasion, while a corps of British deserters, taken into the service of the continent by the state of Georgia, being drawn up before the door, filled up the intervals with

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feux de joie. After dinner a number of toasts were drank, all breathing independence, and a generous love of liberty, and commemorating the memories of those brave and worthy patriots who gallantly exposed their lives, and fell gloriously in defence of freedom and the righteous cause of their country. Each toast was followed by a discharge of artillery and small arms, and a suitable piece of music by the Hessian band. The glorious fourth of July was reiterated three times, accompanied with triple discharges of cannon and small arms, and loud huzzas that resounded from street to street through the city. Towards evening several troops of horse, a corps of artillery, and a brigade of North-Carolina forces, which was in town on its way to join the grand army were drawn up in Second-street, and received by Congress and the General Officers. The evening was closed with the ringing of bells, and at night there was a grand exhibition of fireworks (which began and concluded with thirteen rockets) on the commons, and the city was beautifully illuminated. Everything was conducted with the greatest order and decorum, and the face of joy and gladness was universal."

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XIII

THE DECLARATION ON PARCHMENT, SINCE 1776

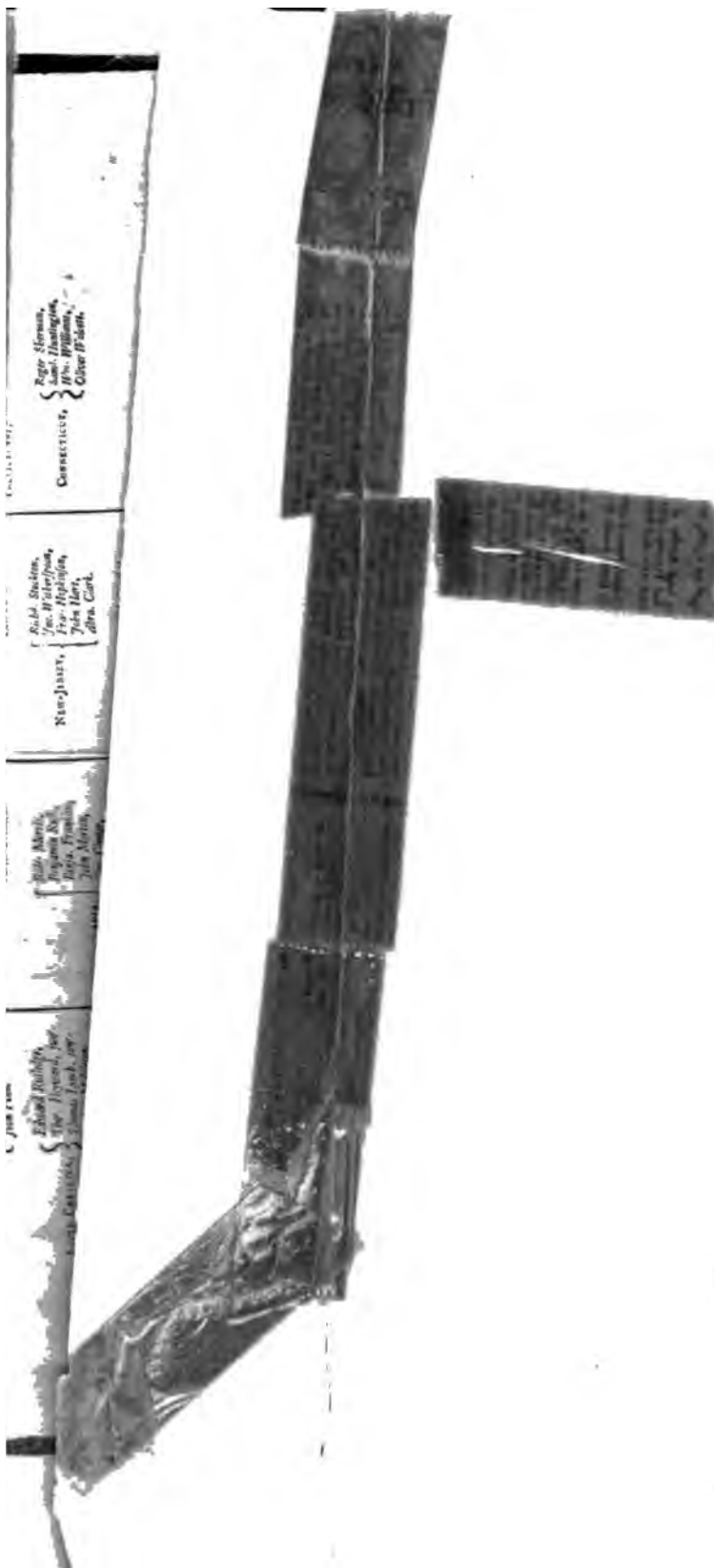
ON January 18, 1777, as shown by the Journal, Congress, which was then sitting in Baltimore,

Ordered
~~Resolved~~ That an authenticated copy¹ of the declaration of independency with the names of the ~~persons~~ members of Congress subscribing the same, be sent to each of the united states & that they be desired to have the same put upon record

At this time, therefore, the Declaration on parchment must, in all probability, have been in that city.²

Henceforth until sometime during the administration of Pickering as Secretary of State (December, 1795, to May 12, 1800), and thenceforth until 1814, we have found no *proof* of its whereabouts.

We know, however, that, on September 15, 1789, an Act was approved providing "[D¹] That the Executive department, denominated the Department of Foreign Affairs, shall hereafter be denominated the Department of State³, and the principal officer therein shall hereafter be called the Secretary of State" and "That the said Secretary shall forthwith after his appointment be entitled to have the custody and charge . . . of all books, records



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and papers, remaining in the office of the late Secretary of the United States in Congress assembled . . .”

We know also that — strangely enough — Jefferson was appointed the first Secretary of State, and was confirmed, September 26th.

M:Kean, in his letter of January, 1814, to John Adams, as we have seen ⁴, tells us :

In the manuscript journal, M^r Pickering, then Secretary of State, and myself saw a *printed half sheet of paper*, with the names of the members afterwards in the printed journals, stitched in. We examined the parchment where my name is signed in my own hand-writing. —

This examination doubtless took place just previous to the writing by M:Kean of his letter (August 4, 1796) to Dallas ; for, in that letter ⁵, he says that he

signed the declaration after it had been engrossed on parchment where my name, in my own hand-writing, still appears . . .

. . . The manuscript *public* Journal has no names annexed to the declaration of independence, nor has the *secret* Journal ; but it appears by the latter, that on the 19th day of July, 1776, the Congress directed that it should be engrossed on parchment, and signed by *every member*, and that it was so produced on the 2d August, and *signed*. This is interlined in the *secret* Journal, in the hand-writing of Charles Thompson, Esquire, the Secretary. The present Secretary of State of the United States and myself have lately inspected the Journals, and seen this.

Indeed, also, in his letter (June 16, 1817) to Messrs. Wm. M'Corkle & Son ⁶, he says :

Afterwards, in 1797, when the late A. J. Dallas, Esq. then Secretary of the Commonwealth, was appointed to publish an

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edition of the laws, on comparing the names published as subscribed to the Declaration of Independence, he observed a variance, and the omission, in some publications, of the name of Thomas M'Kean; having procured a certificate from the Secretary of State that the name of Thomas M'Kean was affixed in his own handwriting to the original Declaration of Independence . . .

Of course, we may safely assume that the Declaration on parchment was among the papers which were transferred from Philadelphia to Washington, in 1800, when the seat of government was changed, of which John Adams, in his message to Congress, November 22d of that year, says: "[D] Immediately after the adjournment of Congress [May 14th] at their last session in Philadelphia I gave directions, in compliance with the laws, for the removal of the public offices, records, and property. These directions have been executed⁷, and the public officers have since resided and conducted the ordinary business of the Government in this place."

In 1814, the British, under Admiral Cockburn and General Ross, visited the city (Washington) and burned the Capitol and other public buildings. Most of the citizens fled from their homes, and many of the records of the government were carted into the country to save them from destruction. Madison was President, and Mrs. Dolly Madison, it seems, was among the last to flee from the White House after the news of the defeat of the Americans at Bladensburg.

Lossing⁸ tells us that, "snatching up the precious parchment on which was written the Declaration of Independence and the autographs of the signers, which she

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had resolved to save also, she hastened to the carriage with her sister (Mrs. Cutts) and her husband, and two servants, and was borne away to a place of safety beyond the Potomac."

For this beautiful story, however, we regret that we have been unable to find any authority.

Indeed, General S. Pleasonton directly assures us that the Declaration was in the Department of State and that it was taken thence to the Virginia side of the Potomac. In a letter to William H. Winder at Philadelphia, dated Washington, August 7, 1848, he says :

"I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 5th instant . . .

After a lapse of 34 years I may not be perfectly accurate in my recollection of all the circumstances . . . but I will, with great pleasure, state them as they now occur to my memory . . .

Soon after learning that the British fleet were in the Chesapeake, we learned also that they were ascending the Patuxent, evidently with the view of attacking this city. Upon receiving this information, which was about a week before the enemy entered Washington, Col. Monroe, then Secretary of State, mounted his horse, and proceeded to Benedict, a small village on the Patuxent, where the British forces were being landed . . . he sent a note¹⁰, either to Mr. John Graham, the chief clerk of the office, or myself, (I do not remember which,) by a vidette, advising us to take the best care of the books and papers of the office which might be in our power. Whereupon I proceeded to purchase coarse linen, and cause it to be made into bags of convenient size, in which the gentlemen of the office, assisted by me, placed the books and other papers, after which I obtained carts, and had them conveyed to a grist mill, then unoccupied, belonging to Mr. Edgar Patterson, situated a short distance on

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the Virginia side of the Potomac, beyond the chain-bridge, so called, two miles above Georgetown.

Whilst engaged in the passage way of the building with the papers, the Department of State being on one side, and the War Department on the other side of the passage, General Armstrong¹¹, then Secretary of War, on his way to his own room, stopped a short time, and observed to me, that he thought we were under unnecessary alarm, as he did not think the British were serious in their intentions of coming to Washington. I replied that we were under a different belief, and let their intentions be what they might, it was the part of prudence to preserve the valuable papers of the Revolutionary Government¹², comprising the declaration of Independence¹³, the laws, the secret journals of Congress, then not published, the correspondence of General Washington . . .

Considering the papers unsafe at the mill, as, if the British forces got to Washington, they would probably detach a force for the purpose of destroying a foundry for cannon and shot in its neighborhood, and would be led by some evil disposed person to destroy the mill and papers also, I proceeded to some farm houses in Virginia, and procured wagons, in which the books and papers were deposited, and I proceeded with them to the town of Leesburg, a distance of 35 miles, at which place an empty house was procured, in which the papers were safely placed, the doors locked, and the keys given to Rev. Mr. Littlejohn, who was then, or had been, one of the collectors of internal revenue.

Being fatigued with the ride, and securing the papers, I retired early to bed, and was informed next morning by the people of the hotel where I staid, that they had seen, the preceding night, being the 24th of August, a large fire in the direction of Washington, which proved to be a light from the public buildings the enemy had set on fire, and burned them to the ground.

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On the 26th of August I returned to Washington, and found the President's house and public offices still burning, and learned that the British army had evacuated the city the preceding evening . . .

As a part of the British fleet soon afterwards ascended the Potomac, and plundered Alexandria of a large quantity of flour and tobacco, threatening Washington at the same time with a second invasion, it was not considered safe to bring the papers of the State Department back for some weeks, not, indeed, until the British fleet generally had left the waters of the Chesapeake. In the meantime it was found necessary for me to proceed to Leesburg occasionally, for particular papers, to which the Secretary of State had occasion to refer in the course of his correspondence.

The next link in the history of the Declaration on parchment is found in a letter (received at the Senate, January 2, 1824) of John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, and in a resolution of Congress (of May 26th) thereupon. These say :

[D] . . . an exact facsimile, engraved on copperplate¹⁴, has been made by direction of this department, of the original copy of the Declaration of Independence, engrossed on parchment . . . Two hundred copies have been struck off from this plate, and are now at the office of the department, subject to the disposal of Congress.

[D] Resolved, That the two hundred copies of the Declaration of Independence, now in the Department of State, be distributed in the manner following: two copies to each of the surviving signers¹⁵ of the Declaration of Independence; two copies to the President of the United States; two copies to the Vice President of the United States; two copies to the late President, Mr. Madison; two copies to the Marquis de Lafayette; twenty

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copies for the two Houses of Congress; twelve copies for the different Departments of the Government; two copies for the President's house; two copies for the Supreme Court room; one copy to each of the Governors of the States; and one to each branch of the Legislatures of the States; one copy to each of the Governors of the Territories of the United States; and one copy to the Legislative Council of each Territory; and the remaining copies to the different Universities and Colleges of the United States, as the President of the United States may direct.

We have also, as we shall see¹⁶, a letter of February 25, 1840, from R. H. Lee, the grandson, which speaks of the Declaration "at Washington".

Then comes a letter from Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, to Henry L. Ellsworth, Commissioner of Patents. It bears date June 11, 1841, and says:

¹⁷ Having learned that there is in the new building appropriated to the Patent Office suitable accommodations for the safe-keeping, as well as the exhibition of the various articles now deposited in this Department, and usually exhibited to visitors . . . I have directed them to be transmitted to you . . .

You will also receive the articles enumerated in the annexed schedule, C, which have been deposited in the Department since . . . [January 14] 1834, or which¹⁸, having been usually exhibited to visitors at this Department, may be interesting to those calling at the Patent Office.

. . .

SCHEDULE C

. . .

6. The Original Declaration of Independence

On February 6, 1877, a letter was written from the Department of State, signed by Secretary Hamilton Fish,

ITS HISTORY

to Zachariah Chandler, Secretary of the Interior, which reads :

¹⁹ It appears from a letter of my predecessor, Mr. Webster . . . that, for the reasons therein set forth, certain articles which had previously been lodged in this Department, were transferred to the custody of the Patent Office, which was then under the supervision of the Secretary of State. The connection of this Department with that office was severed by the act of Congress of the 3^d of March 1849, creating the Department of the Interior, and the functions of the Secretary of State in respect to Patents were devolved upon the Secretary of the Interior, but the articles transferred to the Patent Office above adverted to were not returned to this Department.

This Department now occupies the new, fire-proof and spacious edifice which has been constructed for its use, and it is considered that it would be preferable for such of the articles which were sent to the Patent Office as are records or papers (the custody of which it is believed is by the Statute intrusted to this Department,) should be returned here for future custody.

I would consequently request the return of the original Declaration of Independence . . .

I have consulted with the President, and have conferred verbally with yourself on this subject, and in pursuance of your suggestion, I have submitted this application to the President, who has endorsed his approval thereon, and his authorization of the return of the documents referred to.

Below Fish's signature is the following :

Executive Mansion, February 6, 1877.

The custody of the original Declaration of Independence . . . appearing to be by law placed with the Secretary of State, I approve the request made by him for their return to the Department

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and hereby authorize such return to be made by the Hon. the Secretary of the Interior. U. S. Grant

The letter (in reply), returning the Declaration on parchment to the Department of State, is signed by Chandler and bears date March 3d. It says :

[S] I . . . forward, herewith, the original Declaration of Independence, and the Commission of General George Washington, as Commander-in-Chief.

Compliance with your request relative to these papers, was delayed by an effort on the part of prominent citizens of Philadelphia to have them retained permanently in Independence Hall, where they were placed during the Centennial Exhibition.

After its return to the Department of State, the Declaration on parchment, for many years, was enclosed in a cabinet²⁰ on the eastern side of the Library, where now is a *facsimile* of it.

Since April 23, 1894, it has reposed in a steel safe²¹ in the same room. The transfer was ordered, because the light²² was fading it rapidly.

At the present time, the heavy handwriting of Hancock is scarcely visible ; and only a few of the names can be plainly read.²³

Appendix

Appendix

JEFFERSON'S NOTES¹

1.

²In Congress. Friday June 7. 1776. the Delegates from Virginia moved in obedience to instructions from their constituents that the Congress should declare that these United colonies are & of right ought to be free & independant states, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them & the state of Great Britain is & ought to be totally dissolved; that measures should be immediately taken for procuring the assistance of foreign powers, and a Confederation be formed to bind the colonies more closely together.

The house being obliged to attend at that time to some other business, the ~~resolution~~³ proposition was referred to the next day when the members were ordered to attend punctually at ten o'clock.

Saturday June 8. they~~resolution proposed was however~~ proceeded to take⁴ into consideration and referred it to a committee of the whole, into which ^{they} immediately resolved themselves, and passed that day & Monday the 10th in debating on the subject.

It was argued by Wilson, Robert R. Livingston,

[The remainder of page 1 and all of pages 2, 3, 4 and 5 of the notes are to be found at p. 111. The following is on the reverse side of page 5:]

6.

It appearing in the course of these debates that the colonies of N. York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware & Maryland ^{& South Carolina} ~~had not yet advanced~~ ^{to} were not yet matured for falling off⁵ from the parent stem, but that they were fast advancing to that state, it was thought most prudent to wait a while for them, and to postpone the final decision to July 1. but that

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this might occasion as little delay as possible a committee was appointed to prepare a declaration of independance. the comm^{ee} were J. Adams, D^r Franklin, Roger Sherman, Robert R. Livingston & myself. committees were also appointed at the same time to prepare a plan of confederation for the colonies, and to state the terms proper to be proposed for foreign alliance. the committee for drawing the declaration of Independance desired me to ^{do} ~~prepare~~ it. I ~~did so~~⁶ it was accordingly done, and being approved by them, I reported it to the house on Friday the 28th of June when it was read and ordered to lie on the table. on Monday the 1st of July the house resolved itself into a comm^{ee} of the whole & resumed the consideration of the original motion made by the delegates of Virginia, which being again debated through the day, was carried in the affirmative by the votes of N. Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode island, N. Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, N. Carolina, & Georgia. S. Carolina and Pennsylvania voted against it. Delaware having but two members present, they were divided ; the delegates for New York declared they were for it themselves & were assured their constituents were for it, but that their instructions having been drawn near a twelvemonth before, when reconciliation was still the general object, they were enjoined by them to do nothing which should impede that object. they therefore thought themselves not justifiable in voting on either side, and asked leave to withdraw from the question, which ~~they had~~⁸ was given them. the Comm^{ee} rose & reported their resolution to the house. ^{Edward} ~~mr~~⁹ Rutledge of S. Carolina then ^{requested}¹⁰ ~~desired~~ the determination might be put off to the next day, as he believed his colleagues, tho' they disapproved of the resolution, would then join in it for the sake of unanimity. ~~this was done~~¹¹ the ultimate question whether the house would agree to the resolution of the committee was accordingly postponed to the next day, when ^{it was again moved and}¹² S. Carolina concurred in voting for it. in the mean time a third member had come post from the Delaware counties and turned the vote of that colony in favour of the resolution. members of a

June 28.¹

July 1

July 2.

7.
different sentiment attending that morning from Pennsylvania also, their vote was changed, so that the whole 12. colonies, who were authorized to vote at all, gave their voices for it; and within a few days^{*13} the convention of N. York approved of it ^{and thus} ~~by their vote to~~¹⁴ supplied

* July 9.

APPENDIX

the void occasioned by the withdrawing of their delegates from the vote.

July 2.

Congress proceeded the same day to¹⁵ consider the declaration of Independance which had been reported & laid on the table the Friday and on Monday referred to a committee of the whole.¹⁶ preceding¹⁷ the pusillanimous idea that we had friends in England worth keeping terms with, still haunted the minds of many. for this reason those passages which conveyed censures on the people of England were struck out, lest they should give them offence. the clause too, reprobat-^{ing} the en-

slaving the inhabitants of Africa, was struck out in complaisance¹⁸ to South Carolina & Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who on the contrary still wished to continue it. our Northern brethren also I believe felt a little tender ~~on that~~¹⁹ under those censures; for tho' their people have very few slaves themselves yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others. the debates having taken up the greater parts of the 2^d 3^d & 4th days of July were, in the evening of the last, closed²⁰ the declaration was reported by the commée, agreed

July 3. 4.

As the sentiments of men are known not only by what they receive, but what they reject also, I will state the form of the 21 present 20
to by the house and signed by every member²¹ except m^r Dickinson. ²² declaration as originally reported, ~~is here subjoined~~; ²³ the parts ~~omitted~~²⁴ ~~are~~²⁵ by Congress ~~are~~²⁶ distinguished by a black line drawn under them; & those inserted²⁷ ~~are~~²⁸ placed in the margin or in a concurrent column.²⁹

[Here follows the Declaration, which is given at p. 172. It ends on page 12 of the notes.

[Immediately following it, a slip³⁰ is pasted onto the page, on which slip is the following:]

the Declaration thus signed on the 4th on paper was engrossed on parchment, & signed again on the 2^d of Aug.³¹ Some erroneous statements³² of the proceedings on the declaration of independance having got before the public in latter times, m^r Samuel A. Wells asked explanations of me, which are given in my letter to him of May 12. 19.³³ before and now again referred to. I took notes in my place while

[The following is on the reverse side of the slip:]

these things were going on, and at their close wrote them out in form and with correctness and ^{from 1. to 7. 31 of} ~~this and~~³⁴ the two preceding sheets³⁵ are the origi-

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nals then written ; as the two following⁸⁴ are of the earlier debates on the Confederation, which I took in like manner.

[The remaining portion of page 12 (beginning as follows :
“⁸⁵ On Friday July 12. the Committee appointed to draw the
articles of confederation reported them . . .”) and the remain-
ing pages of the *notes* refer to the subject of *confederation*.]

APPENDIX

LETTERS OF M:KEAN

August 4, 1796, from Philadelphia, to

ALEXANDER J. DALLAS

" . . . The Publication of the *Declaration of Independence* on the 4th day of July 1776, as printed in the Journals of Congress, Vol. 2, pa. 241 &c. and also in ~~most~~ ^{most of the} of the Acts of public bodies since, so far as respects the names of the Delegates or Deputies who made that Declaration ~~on that day in Congress~~, has [taught me to think less unfavorably of scepticism than formerly] . . . By the printed publications referred to, it would appear as if the fifty five Gentlemen, whose names are ~~signed thereto~~ ^{there printed as having signed it} ~~Signers~~ and none other, were on that day personally present in Congress and assenting to the Declaration; ^{Whereas} ~~But~~ the truth is otherwise. The following Gentlemen were not ^{present} ~~not~~ Members of Congress ~~on that~~ on the 4th of July 1776, to wit, Matthew Thornton, Benjamin Rush, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor and George Ross; ~~Esqs~~ the five last named were not chosen Delegates until the 20th day of that Month, the first not until the 12th day of September following, nor did he take his seat in Congress until the 4th of November 1776 . . . Altho' the six Gentlemen named had been ^{very} active in the cause of America, and some of them to my own knowledge ^{warmly} in favor of its Independence before the day on which it was declared, yet I ⁸⁷ personally know, that none of them were in Congress on that day.

~~When~~—I Modesty should not rob any man of his just honor, when by that honor his modesty cannot be offended. My name is not in the printed Journals of Congress as a party to the Declaration of Independence, and this, like an error in the first concoction, has ^{vitiates} ~~pervaded~~ most of the subsequent publications; and yet ^{the fact is that then} ~~I~~ [^] was [^] a Member of Congress

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for the State of Delaware, was personally present in Congress, voted in favor of Independence on the 4th of July 1776, and afterwards signed the declaration, after it was engrossed on parchment; where my name in my own hand-writing still appears . . . [Henry Wisner, of the state of New-York, was also in Congress, and voted for Independence.] On the 5th of July 1776 I was chosen Chairman at a conference . . . And in a few days afterwards I marched with the ^{Associators} 4th Battalion of the Philadelphia Militia, being the Colonel, to Amboy in New-Jersey, and remained in the Army till the flying camp of ten thousand men was formed. — In 1781 I published the 1 Vol. of the State Laws of Pennsylvania, and had my name ^{placed} to the Declaration of Independence. —

From these circumstances it must be pretty evident, that I was present in Congress on the 4th July 1776 ~~and joined in the vote for Independence~~ ^{had been in favor of Independence and did not neglect such an opportunity of declaring it in form.}

I well remember, that on Monday the 1st July the Congress, in a Committee of the whole, voted in favor of Independence, all the States concurring except Pennsylvania, which voted in the negative, and Delaware, which was divided. Those Delegates for Pennsylvania, who voted in the negative, were John Dickinson, Robert Morris, Thomas Willing and Charles Humphries Esquires, those in the affirmative were ^{John Morton,} Benjamin Franklin and James Wilson Esquires. For Delaware, my vote was for Independence, my Colleague George Read Esquire voted against it. On the 4th July (which was a rainy day) Mess^{rs} Dickinson & Morris ^{were absent} did not attend and in consequence the Vote of Pennsylvania was in favor of the measure and Cæsar Rodney ^{Esquire} the other Delegate for Delaware having ^{for the purpose by me} been sent for ^{by Express,} attended and voted likewise in the affirmative, so that on that day there was an unanimous vote of the thirteen ^{Colonies} States for Independence. — I had not heard that the ~~decalat~~ Instrument had been engrossed on parchment and signed, by the members, until some weeks after I returned from Camp, and (I believe) until I returned from New-castle, where I had ^{been} employed some weeks, as a member of the Convention chosen to form ~~their~~ a new Government for that State; but I subscribed my name to it in the presence of the Congress sometime in the year 1776.

How the ^{mistatement} errors in the printed Journal has happened I know not; ~~the~~ it

APPENDIX

[The manuscript *public* Journal has no names annexed to the declaration of independence, nor has the *secret* Journal ; but it appears by the latter, that on the 19th day of July, 1776, the Congress directed that it should be engrossed on parchment, and signed by *every member*, and that it was so produced on the 2d August, and signed. This is interlined in the *secret* Journal, in the hand-writing of Charles Thompson, Esquire, the Secretary. The present Secretary of State of the United States and myself have lately inspected the Journals, and seen this. The Journal] ^{published} was printed first in 1778 by M^r. John Dunlap.⁸⁸ [and probably copies, with the names then signed to it, were printed in August, 1776, and that Mr. Dunlap printed the names from one of them.] However I have now given you a true, tho' brief history of the Affair, ~~not being willing to enlarge upon it~~ and flatter myself some steps will be taken to correct the error ~~I am~~^{it} which have been suffered too long to exist.* . . .

* As you are engaged to publish a new edition of the Laws of Pennsylvania I thought this a proper opportunity to convey to you this information.

August 22, 1813, from Philadelphia, to

CÆSAR AUGUSTUS RODNEY

⁸⁸ Your favor of the 22^d last month . . . came safe to hand . . .

I recollect what passed in Congress in the beginning of July 1776 respecting Independence ; it was not as you have conceived, On Monday the 1st of July the question was taken in the committee of the whole, when the State of Pennsylvania (represented by seven Gentlemen then present) voted ag. it : Delaware, (having then only two Representatives present) was divided ; all the other States voted in favor of it. Whereupon, without delay I sent an Express (at my private expence) for your honored Uncle Cæsar Rodney Esquire, the remaining member for Delaware, whom I met at the State-house door in his boots & spurs, as the members were assembling ; after a friendly salutation (without a word on the business) we went into the Hall of Congress together, and found we were among the latest : proceedings immediately commenced, and after a few minutes the great question ^{was put} ; when the vote for Delaware was called, your uncle arose and said ; “ As I believe the voice of my constituents and ~~that~~ of all sensible & honest men is in favor of Independence & ^{my} own judgment concurs with them, I vote for Independence, or in words to the same effect. The State of Pennsylvania on the 4th of July

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(There being only five members present, Mess^{rs} Dickinson & Morris, who had in the committee of the whole ^{voted} against Independence were absent) voted for it; three to two, Mess^{rs} Willing & Humphries in the negative. Unanimity in the thirteen States, an all important point on so great an occasion, was thus obtained; the dissension of a single State might have produced very dangerous consequences.

Now, that I am on this subject, I will tell you some truths, not generally known. In the printed public journal of Congress for 1776, vol. 2. it would appear that the declaration of Independence was signed on the 4th July by the members, whose names are there inserted, but the fact is not so, for no person signed it on that day nor for many days after and among the names subscribed, one was ag^t it, M^r Read, and seven were not in Congress on that day, namely, Mess^{rs} Morris, Rush, Clymer, Smith, Taylor & Ross of Pennsylvania, and M^r Thornton of New-Hampshire, nor were the six Gentlemen last named at that time members; the five for P. were appointed Delegates by the Convention of that State on the 20th July, and M^r Thornton entered Congress for the first time on the 4th of Novem^r following: when the names of Henry Wisner of New-York & Thomas M^r Kean of Delaware are not printed as subscribers, tho' both were present & voted for Independence.

Here false colours are certainly hung out; there is culpability somewhere. What I can offer as an apology or explanation is; that on the 4th of July 1776 the declaration of Independence was ordered to be ingrossed on parchment & then to be signed, and I have been told, that a resolve had passed a few days after and was entered on the *secret* journal, that no person should have a seat in congress, during that year, until he should have signed the declaration, in order (as I have been given to understand) to prevent traitors or spies from worming themselves amongst us. I was not in Congress after the 4th for some months having marched with my regiment of associators of this city as Colonel, to support General Washington until a flying camp of ten thousand men was completed. When the associators were discharged I returned to Philadelphia, took my seat in congress & then signed the declaration on parchment. Two days after I went to Newcastle, joined the Convention for forming a constitution for the future government of the State of Delaware (having been elected a member for Newcastle county) which I wrote in a tavern, without a book or any assistance.

You may rely on the accuracy of the foregoing relation.

APPENDIX

June 16, 1817, from Philadelphia, to

MESSRS. WM. M'CORKLE & SON

⁴⁰ Several applications having been recently made to me, to state the errors which I had observed, and often mentioned, in the publications of the names of the members of the Continental Congress, who declared in favor of the Independence of the United States, on the 4th day of July, 1776 — I have not, at present, sufficient health and leisure to reply severally to each application. There can be but one correct statement of facts: one public statement, therefore, through the press, will serve the purpose of the gentlemen who have made the request, and may also give satisfaction to the minds of others, who have turned their thoughts upon the subject. If I am correct in my statement, it may be of use to future historians; if not, my errors can be readily corrected. I wish, therefore, by means of your paper, to make the following statement of the facts within my knowledge, relative to the subject of enquiry.

On Monday, the 1st day of July, 1776, the arguments in Congress for and against the Declaration of Independence, having been exhausted, and the measures fully considered, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole; the question was put by the chairman, and all the *States* voted in the affirmative, except Pennsylvania, which was in the negative, and Delaware, which was equally divided. Pennsylvania, at that time, had seven members, viz. John Morton, Benjamin Franklin, James Wilson, John Dickinson, Robert Morris, Thomas Willing, and Charles Humphreys. All were present on the first of July, and the three first named voted for the Declaration of Independence, the remaining four against it. The State of Delaware had three members, Cæsar Rodney, George Read, and myself. George Read and I were present. I voted for it, Geo. Read against it. When the president resumed the chair, the chairman of the committee of the whole made his report, which was not acted upon until Thursday, the 4th of July. In the meantime, I had written to press the attendance of Cæsar Rodney, the 3d delegate from Delaware, who appeared early on that day at the state house, in his place. When the Congress assembled, the question was put on the report of the committee of the whole, and approved by every *State*. Of the members from Pennsylvania, the three first, as before, voted in the

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affirmative, and the two last in the negative. John Dickinson and Robert Morris were not present, and did not take their seats on that day. Cæsar Rodney, for the state of Delaware, voted with me in the affirmative, and George Read in the negative.

Some months after this, I saw printed publications of the names of those gentlemen, who had, as it was said, voted for the Declaration of Independence, and observed, that my own name was omitted. I was not a little surprised at, nor could I account for the omission; because I knew that on the 24th of June preceding, the deputies from the committees of Pennsylvania, assembled in provincial conference, held at the Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, which had met on the 18th, and chosen me their president, had unanimously declared their willingness to concur in a vote of the Congress, declaring the United Colonies free and independent states, and had ordered their declaration to be signed, and their President to deliver it to Congress, which accordingly I did the day following: I knew also, that a regiment of associators, of which I was colonel, had, at the end of May before, unanimously made the same declaration. These circumstances were mentioned, at the time, to gentlemen of my acquaintance. The error remained uncorrected until the year 1781, when I was appointed to publish the laws of Pennsylvania, to which I prefixed the Declaration of Independence, and inserted my own name, with the names of my colleagues. Afterwards, in 1797, when the late A. J. Dallas, Esq. then Secretary of the Commonwealth, was appointed to publish an edition of the Laws, on comparing the names published as subscribed to the Declaration of Independence, he observed a variance, and the omission, in some publications, of the name of Thomas M'Kean; having procured a certificate from the Secretary of State that the name of Thomas M'Kean was affixed in his own hand writing to the original Declaration of Independence, tho' omitted in the journals of Congress; Mr Dallas then requested an explanation of this circumstance from me, and from my answer to this application, the following extracts were taken and published by Mr. Dallas in the appendix to the first volume of his edition of the laws.

"... The publication of the Declaration of Independence on the 4th day of July, 1776, as printed in the journals of Congress, vol. 2, page 242, &c. and also in the acts of most public bodies since, so far as respects the names of the delegates or deputies who made that declaration, has [taught me to think less unfavorably of skepticism than formerly]

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. . . By the printed publications referred to, it would appear as if the fifty-five gentlemen, whose names are there printed, and none other, were on that day, personally present in Congress, and assenting to the declaration ; whereas the truth is otherwise. The following gentlemen were not members on the 4th of July 1776, namely, Matthew Thornton, Benjamin Rush, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, and George Ross, Esquires. The five last named were not chosen delegates until the 20th of that month the first, not until the 12th day of September following, nor did he take his seat in Congress, until the 4th of November, which was four months after . . . Although the six gentlemen named, had been very active in the American cause, and some of them, to my own knowledge, warmly in favour of its independence, previous to the day on which it was declared, yet I personally know that none of them were in Congress, on that day.

“Modesty should not rob any man of his just honour, when, by that honour, his modesty cannot be offended. My name is not in the printed journal of Congress, as a party to the Declaration of Independence, and this, like an error in the first concoction has vitiated most of the subsequent publications, and yet the fact is, that I was then a member of Congress for the state of Delaware, was personally present in Congress, and voted in favour of Independence on the 4th day of July, 1776, and signed the Declaration, after it had been engrossed on parchment, where my name, in my own hand writing, still appears. Henry Wisner, of the state of New-York, was also in Congress, and voted for Independence.

“I do not know how the misstatement in the printed journals has happened. The manuscript *public* journal, has no names annexed to the Declaration of Independence, nor has the *secret* journal ; but it appears by the latter, that on the 19th day of July, 1776, the Congress directed that it should be engrossed on parchment, and signed by *every member*, and that it was so produced on the 2d of August, and signed. This is interlined in the secret journal, in the hand writing of Charles Thompson, Esq. the Secretary. The present Secretary of State of the United States, and myself, have lately inspected the journals, and seen this. The journal was first printed by Mr. John Dunlap, in 1778, and probably, copies with the names then signed to it were printed in August 1776, and that Mr. Dunlap printed the names from one of *them*.”

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VARIOUS DRAFTS, ETC., OF THE DECLARATION

41

(Of the following, the lines marked *a* represent the Declaration on parchment, now in the Department of State; the lines marked *b* the Declaration as written out in the *corrected* Journal; the lines marked *c* the Declaration as printed by Dunlap under the order of Congress, a copy of which is wafered into the *rough* Journal; the lines marked *d* the draft of the Declaration in the handwriting of Jefferson now in The American Philosophical Society, in Philadelphia; the lines marked *e* the draft of the Declaration in the handwriting of Jefferson now in the New York Public Library, Lenox; the lines marked *f* the draft of the Declaration in the handwriting of Jefferson now in the Massachusetts Historical Society, in Boston; and the lines marked *g* the copy in the handwriting of John Adams of the "Rough draught" of the Declaration, now at the Massachusetts Historical Society.)

<i>a</i>	⁴³ [S] In CONGRESS, July, 4, 1776.	The unanimous
<i>b</i>		⁴³ [S] A
<i>c</i>	⁴⁴ In CONGRESS, July, 4, 1776.	A
<i>d</i>		⁴⁵ [A] A
<i>e</i>		⁴⁶ [N] A
<i>f</i>		⁴⁷ [Ms] A
<i>g</i>		⁴⁸ [Qy] A

<i>a</i>	Declaration	of the thirteen
<i>b</i>	Declaration by the representatives	of the
<i>c</i>	DECLARATION By the REPRESENTATIVES	of the
<i>d</i>	Declaration by the Representatives	of the
<i>e</i>	Declaration by the Representatives	of the
<i>f</i>	Declaration by the Representatives	of the
<i>g</i>	Declaration by the Representatives	of the

<i>a</i>	united States of America	
<i>b</i>	united states of America	in Congress
<i>c</i>	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,	In GENERAL CONGRESS
<i>d</i>	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	in General Congress
<i>e</i>	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	in General Congress
<i>f</i>	United States of America	in General Congress
<i>g</i>	United States of America	in general Congress

APPENDIX

a assembled
b assembled.
c assembled.
d assembled.
e assembled.
f assembled.
g assembled

a When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one
b When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one
c When in the Courfe of human Events, it becomes necessary for one
d When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one
e When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one
f When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one
g When in the Courfe of human Events it becomes necessary for a

a people to disolve the political bands which have connected them with
b people to disolve the political bands, which have connected them with
c People to diffolve the Political Bands which have connected them with
d people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with
e people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with
f people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with
g People to advance from that Subordination, in which they have hitherto

a another, and to asume among the powers of the earth, the separate and
b another, and to asume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and
c another, and to asume among the Powers of the Earth, the separate and
d another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and
e another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and
f another, & to assume among the powers of the earth the separate &
g remained and to asume among the Powers of the Earth, the equal and

a equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God
b equal station, to which the laws of nature and of nature's God
c equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God
d equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's god
e equal station to which the laws of nature & of nature's god
f equal station, to which the laws of nature & of nature's god
g independent Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Natures God

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a entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that
b entitle them a decent respect to the Opinions of mankind requires that
c entitle them, a decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that
d entitle them \equiv a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that
e entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that
f entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that
g entitle them, a decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that

a they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. —
b they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation
c they should declare the causes which impel them to the Separation.
d they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.
e they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.
f they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.
g they should declare the Causes, which impell them to the Change .

a We hold these truths to be self-evident , that all men are created
b [¶] We hold these truths to be self evident , That all men are created
c [¶] We hold these Truths to be self-evident , that all Men are created
d [¶] We hold these truths to be self-evident ; that all men are created
e [¶] We hold these truths to be self-evident ; that all men are created
f [¶] We hold these truths to be self-evident : that all men are created
g [¶] We hold these Truths to be self evident ⁴⁰; that all Men are created

a equal , that they are endowed by their Creator with
b equal , that they are endowed by their creator with
c equal , that they are endowed by their Creator with
d equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with
e equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with
f equal : that they are endowed by their creator with ⁵⁰
g equal and independent ; that from that equal Creation they derive

a certain unalienable Rights, that among these are
b certain unalienable rights ; that among these are
c certain unalienable Rights, that among these are
d inherent and inalienable rights ; that among these are
e inherent & inalienable rights ; that among these are
f inherent & inalienable rights : that \equiv these are
g Rights inherent and unalienable ⁵¹ ; among which are the

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a Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That
b life, liberty & the pursuit of happiness; that
c Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. — That
d life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that
e life, liberty, & the pursuit of happiness; that
f life, liberty, & the pursuit of happiness: that
g Preservation of Life, and Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness; that

a to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving
b to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving
c to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving
d to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving
e to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving
f to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving
g to Secure these Ends, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving

a their just powers from the consent of the governed, — That whenever
b their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever
c their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever
d their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever
e their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever
f their just powers from the consent of the governed: that whenever
g their just Powers from the Consent of the governed; that whenever,

a any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is
b any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is
c any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is
d any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is
e any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is
f any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is
g any form of Government, Shall become destructive of these Ends, it is

a the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new
b the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new
c the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new
d the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new
e the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new
f the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, & to institute new
g the Right of the People to alter, or to abolish it, and to institute new

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a Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing
b government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing
c Government, laying its Foundation on such Principles, and organizing
d government, laying it's foundation on such principles, and organising
e government, laying it's foundation on such principles & organising
f government, laying it's foundation on such principles, & organising
g Government laying its Foundation on Such Principles, and organising

a its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their
b its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their
c its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their
d it's powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their
e it's powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their
f it's powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their
g its Powers in Such Form, as to them Shall Seem most likely to effect their

a Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments
b safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments
c Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments
d safety and happiness. prudence indeed will dictate that governments
e safety & happiness. prudence indeed will dictate that governments
f safety and happiness. prudence indeed will dictate that governments
g Safety and Happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate that Governments

a long established should not be changed for light and transient causes ;
b long established should not be changed for light and transient causes ;
c long established should not be changed for light and transient Causes ;
d long established should not be changed for light & transient causes .
e long established should not be changed for light & transient causes .
f long established should not be changed for light and transient causes :
g long established Should not be changed for light or ⁶² transient Causes :

a and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more dis-
b and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more dif-
c and accordingly all Experience hath shewn, that Mankind are more dif-
d and accordingly all experience hath shewn that mankind are more dis-
e and accordingly all experience hath shewn that mankind are more dis-
f and accordingly all experience hath shewn that mankind are more dis-
g and accordingly all Experience hath Shewn, that Mankind are more dis-

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a posed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by
b posed to suffer, while evils are sufferable than to right themselves by
c posed to suffer, while Evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by
d posed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by
e posed to suffer while evils are sufferable, ===== themselves by
f posed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by
g posed to Suffer, while Evils are Sufferable, than to right themselves, by

a abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long
b abolishing the forms, to which they are accustomed. But when a long
c abolishing the Forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long
d abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. but when a long
e abolishing the forms ===== they are accustomed. but when a long
f abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. but when a long
g abolishing the Forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long

a train of abuses and usurpations,
b train of abuses & usurpations
c Train of Abuses and Usurpations,
d train of abuses and usurpations, begun at a distinguished period &
e train of abuses & usurpations, begun at a distinguished period, &
f train of abuses & usurpations, begun at a distinguished period, &
g Train of Abuses and Usurpations, begun at a distinguished Period, and

a pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them
b pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them
c pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a Design to reduce them
d pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them
e pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them
f pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them
g pursuing invariably, the Same Object, evinces a Design to reduce them

a under absolute Despotism , it is their right, it is their duty, to throw
b under absolute despotism , it is their right, it is their duty to throw
c under absolute Despotism , it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw
d under absolute despotism , it is their right, it is their duty, to throw
e under absolute despotism , it is their right, it is their duty, to throw
f under absolute despotism ^{as}, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw
g under absolute ^{as} Power , it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw

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a off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future secur-
b off such government and to provide new guards for their future secur-
c off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Secur-
d off such government, & to provide new guards for their future secur-
e off such government & to provide new guards for their future secur-
f off such government, & to provide new guards for their future secur-
g off Such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Secur-

a ity. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies ; and such
b ity. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such
c ity. — Such has been the patient Sufferance of these Colonies ; and such
d ity. such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies ; & such
e ity. such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies ; & such
f ity. such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies ; and such
g ity. Such has been the patient Sufferance of these Colonies ; and Such

a is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former
b is now the necessity, which constrains them to alter their former
c is now the Necessity which constrains them to alter their former
d is now the necessity which constrains them to expunge their former
e is now the necessity which constrains them to expunge their former
f is now the necessity which constrains them to expunge their former
g is now the Necessity which constrains them to expunge their former

a Systems of Government. The history of the present King of
b systems of government. The history of the present king of
c Systems of Government. The History of the present King of
d systems of government. the history of the present king of
e systems of government. the history of the present king of
f systems of government. the history of the " present king of
g Systems of Government. The History of his present Majesty

a Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations,
b great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations,
c Great-Britain is a History of repeated Injuries and Usurpations,
d Great Britain, is a history of unremitting injuries and usurpations,
e Great Britain, is a history of unremitting injuries & usurpations,
f Great Britain " is a history of unremitting injuries & usurpations,
g is a History, of unremitting Injuries and Usurpations,

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a
b
c
d among which appears no solitary fact to contra-
e among which appears no solitary fact to contra-
f among which appears no solitary fact to contra-
g among which no one Fact Stands Single or Solitary to contra-

a all having in direct object
b all having in direct object
c all having in direct Object
d dict the uniform tenor of the rest; but all have in direct object
e dict the uniform tenor of the rest; but all have in direct object
f dict the uniform tenor of the rest, but all have in direct object
g dict the Uniform Tenor of the rest, all of which have in direct object,

a the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove
b the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove
c the Establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove
d the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. to prove
e the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. to prove
f the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. to prove
g the Establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove

a this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world
b this let facts be submitted to a candid world
c this, let Facts be submitted to a candid World
d this let facts be submitted to a candid world, for the truth of which
e this, let facts be submitted to a candid world, for the truth of which
f this, let facts be submitted to a candid world, for the truth of which
g this, let Facts be Submitted to a candid World, for the Truth of which

a . — He
b . [¶] He
c . [¶] He
d we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood. [¶] He
e we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood. [¶] He
f we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood. [¶] He
g We pledge a Faith, as⁶⁶ yet unsullied by a Falsehood. [P. 2; ¶] He

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a has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for
b has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for
c has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for
d has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for
e has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome & necessary for
f has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for
g has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for

<i>a</i> the public good. —	He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws
<i>b</i> the public good. [¶]	He has forbidden his governors to pass laws
<i>c</i> the public Good. [¶]	He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws
<i>d</i> the public good. [¶]	he has forbidden his governors to pass laws
<i>e</i> the public good : [¶]	he has forbidden his governors to pass laws
<i>f</i> the public good : [¶]	he has forbidden his governors to pass laws
<i>g</i> the public Good. [¶]	He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws

a of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their opera-
b of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their opera-
c of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their Opera-
d of immediate & pressing importance, unless suspended in their opera-
e of immediate & pressing importance, unless suspended in their opera-
f of immediate & pressing importance, unless suspended in their opera-
g of an⁶⁷ immediate and pressing Importance, unless suspended in their Opera-

a tion till his Assent should be obtained ; and when so suspended, he has
b tion till his assent should be obtained, and when so suspended, he has
c tion till his Assent should be obtained ; and when so suspended, he has
d tion till his assent should be obtained ; and when so suspended, he has
e tion till his assent should be obtained ; & when so suspended, he has
f tion till his assent should be obtained ; and when so suspended, he has
g tion, till his Assent Should be obtained ; and when So suspended he has

<i>a</i> utterly neglected	to attend to them. —	He has refused
<i>b</i> utterly neglected	to attend to them. [¶]	He has refused
<i>c</i> utterly neglected	to attend to them. [¶]	He has refused
<i>d</i> neglected utterly	to attend to them. [¶]	he has refused
<i>e</i> neglected utterly	to attend to them : [¶]	he has refused
<i>f</i> neglected utterly	to attend to them. [P. 2 ; ¶]	he has refused
<i>g</i> neglected utterly	to attend to them. [¶]	He has refused

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a to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people,
b to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people,
c to pass other Laws for the Accommodation of large Districts of People,
d to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people,
e to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people,
f to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people,
g to pass other Laws for the Accommodation of large Districts of People,

a unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the
b unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the
c unless those People would relinquish the Right of Representation in the
d unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the
e unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the
f unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the
g unless those People would relinquish the Right of Representation in the

a Legislature , a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants
b legislature , a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants
c Legislature , a Right inestimable to them, and formidable to Tyrants
d legislature ; a right inestimable to them, & formidable to tyrants
e legislature , a right inestimable to them & formidable to tyrants
f legislature , a right inestimable to them, & formidable to tyrants
g Legislature⁶⁶, a Right inestimable to them, and formidable to Tyrants

a only . — He has called together legislative bodies at places
b only . [¶] He has called together legislative bodies at places
c only . [¶] He has called together Legislative Bodies at Places
d only . [P. 2; ¶] he has called together legislative bodies at places
e only : [P. 2; ¶] he has called together legislative bodies at places
f only . [¶] he has called together legislative bodies at places
g only⁶⁶.

a unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public
b unusual, uncomfortable and distant from the depository of their public
c unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the Depository of their public
d unusual, uncomfortable, & distant from the depository of their public
e unusual, uncomfortable, & distant from the depository of their public
f unusual, uncomfortable, & distant from the depository of their public
g

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

a Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his
b records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his
c Records, for the sole Purpose of fatiguing them into Compliance with his
d records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his
e records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his
f records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his
g

en 61

<i>a</i> measures. —		He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly,
<i>b</i> measures. [¶]		He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly
<i>c</i> Measures. [¶]		He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly,
<i>d</i> measures. [¶]		he has dissolved Representative houses repeatedly
<i>e</i> measures: [¶]		he has dissolved Representative houses repeatedly
<i>f</i> measures. ⁶⁰ [¶]		he has dissolved Representative houses repeatedly
<i>g</i> [¶]		He has dissolved Representative Houses, repeatedly,

a for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the
b for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the
c for opposing with manly Firmness his Invasions on the
d & continually, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the
e & continually, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the
f & continually, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the
g and continually, for opposing with manly Firmness his Invasions, on the

<i>a</i> rights of the people. —		He has refused for a long
<i>b</i> rights of the people. [¶]		He has refused for a long
<i>c</i> Rights of the People. [¶]		He has refused for a long
<i>d</i> rights of the people. [¶]		he has refused for ≡ long
<i>e</i> rights of the people: [¶]		he has refused for a long
<i>f</i> rights of the people. [¶]		he has refused for a long
<i>g</i> Right of the People. ⁶² [¶]	⁶³	He has refused, for a long Space of

a time, after such dissolutions , to cause others to be elected ; whereby
b time, after such dissolutions , to cause others to be elected ; whereby
c Time, after such Dissolutions , to cause others to be elected ; whereby
d time after such dissolutions to cause others to be elected whereby
e time after such dissolutions to cause others to be elected, whereby
f time after such dissolutions to cause others to be elected, whereby
g Time after Such Dissolutions⁶⁴, to cause others to be elected, whereby

APPENDIX

a the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the
b the legislative powers incapable of annihilation have returned to the
c the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the
d the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the
e the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the
f the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the
g the legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the

a People at large for their exercise ; the State remaining in the mean time
b people at large for their exercise ; the state remaining in the mean time
c People at large for their exercife ; the State remaining in the mean time
d people at large for their exercise, the state remaining in the meantime
e people at large for their exercise, the state remaining in the meantime
f people at large for their exercise, the state remaining in the meantime ,
g People at large for their Exercife, the State remaining in the mean Time,

a exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions
b exposed to all the dangers of invafion from without and convulsions
c exposed to all the Dangers of Invafion from without, and Convulsions
d exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, & convulsions
e exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, & convulsions
f exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, & convulsions
g exposed to all the Dangers of Invafion, from without, and Convulsions

<i>a</i> within. —		He has endeavoured to prevent the population of
<i>b</i> within.	[¶]	He has endeavoured to prevent the population of
<i>c</i> within.	[¶]	He has endeavoured to prevent the population of
<i>d</i> within.	[¶]	he has endeavored to prevent the population of
<i>e</i> within :	[¶]	he has endeavored to prevent the population of
<i>f</i> within.	[¶]	he has endeavored to prevent the population of
<i>g</i> within — —	[¶]	He has endeavoured to prevent the Population of

a these States ; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of
b these states ; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of
c thefe States ; for that Purpose obftructing the Laws for Naturalization of
d these states ; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of
e these states ; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of
f these states ; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of
g thefe States ; for that purpofe obstructing the Laws for naturalization of

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

a Foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither,
b foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither
c Foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their Migrations hither,
d foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither ;
e foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither ;
f foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither ;
g foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their Migrations hither ;

a and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. — He
b & raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands. [¶] He
c and raising the Conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. [¶] He
d & raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands. [¶] he
e & raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands : [¶] he
f & raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands. [¶] he
g and raising the Conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. [¶] He

a has obstructed the Administration of Justice
b has obstructed the administration of Justice
c has obstructed the Adminiftration of Justice
d has suffered the administration of justice totally to cease in some of
e has suffered the administration of justice totally to cease in some of
f has suffered the administration of justice totally to cease in some of
g has Suffered the Administration of Justice totally to cease in Some of

a , by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary
b by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary
c , by refusing his assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary
d these states , refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary
e these states , refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary
f these states ; refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary
g these Colonies, refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing judiciary

a powers. — He has made Judges dependant on his Will alone,
b powers. [¶] He has made judges dependant on his will alone
c Powers. [¶] He has made Judges dependant on his Will alone,
d powers. [¶] he has made our judges dependant on his will alone,
e powers : [¶] he has made our judges dependant on his will alone,
f powers. [¶] he has made our judges dependant on his will alone,
g Powers. [¶] He has made our Judges dependent on his Will alone,

APPENDIX

a for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of
b for the tenure of their offices and the amount and payment of
c for the Tenure of their Offices, and the Amount and Payment of
d for the tenure of their offices, and the amount & paiment of
e for the tenure of their offices & the amount & paiment of
f for the tenure of their offices, & the^{as} amount & paiment^{as} of
g for the Tenure of their Offices, and the amount and payment of

a their salaries. — He has erected a multitude of New Offices
b their salaries. [¶] He has erected a multitude of new offices
c their Salaries. [¶] He has erected a Multitude of New Offices
d their salaries. [¶] he has erected a multitude of new offices by a
e their salaries: [¶] he has erected a multitude of new offices by a
f their salaries. [¶] he has erected a multitude of new offices by a
g their Salaries: [¶] He has erected a Multitude of new Offices by a

a , and sent hither swarms of Officers to harafs our
b , and sent hither swarms of officers to harafs our
c , and sent hither Swarms of Officers to harafs our
d self-assumed power, & sent hither swarms of officers to harass our
e self assumed power, & sent hither swarms of officers to harass our
f self-assumed power, & sent hither swarms of officers to harrass our
g Self-asumed Power, and Sent hither Swarms of Officers to harafs our

a people, and eat out their substance. — He has kept among us, in
b people and eat out their substance. [¶] He has kept among us in
c People, and eat out their Substance. [¶] He has kept among us, in
d people, and eat out their substance. [¶] he has kept among us, in
e people, & eat out their substance: [¶] he has kept among us, in
f people, & eat out their substance. [¶] he has kept among us, in
g People, and eat out their Substance. [¶] He has kept among us, in

a times of peace, Standing Armies without the Con-
b times of peace standing armies , without the con-
c Times of Peace, Standing Armies , without the con-
d times of peace, standing armies and ships of war, without the con-
e times of peace standing armies & ships of war without the con-
f times of peace, standing armies & ships of war without the con-
g Times of Peace, Standing Armies and Ships of War

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

<i>a</i> sent of our legislatures. —		He has affected to render the Military
<i>b</i> sent of our legislatures	[¶]	He has affected to render the military
<i>c</i> sent of our Legislatures.	[¶]	He has affected to render the Military
<i>d</i> sent of our legislatures.	[¶]	he has affected to render the military
<i>e</i> sent of our legislatures:	[¶]	he has affected to render the military
<i>f</i> sent of our legislatures. ⁶⁸	[¶]	he has affected to render the military
<i>g</i>	[¶]	He has affected to render the military,

<i>a</i> independent of and superior to the Civil power. —		He has com-
<i>b</i> independant of & superior to the civil power	[¶]	He has com-
<i>c</i> independent of and superior to the Civil Power.	[¶]	He has com-
<i>d</i> independant of, & superior to, the civil power.	[¶]	he has com-
<i>e</i> independant of, and superior to, the civil power :	[¶]	he has com-
<i>f</i> independant of, & superior to, the civil power.	[¶]	he has com-
<i>g</i> independent of, and Superiour to, the civil Power :	[¶]	He has com-

<i>a</i> bined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitu-		
<i>b</i> bined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitu-		
<i>c</i> bined with others to subject us to a Jurisdiction foreign to our Constitu-		
<i>d</i> bined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitu-		
<i>e</i> bined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitu-		
<i>f</i> bined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitu-		
<i>g</i> bined with others to subject Us to a Jurisdiction foreign to our Constitu-		

<i>a</i> tion , and unacknowledged by our laws ; giving his Assent to their		
<i>b</i> tion and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their		
<i>c</i> tion , and unacknowledged by our Laws ; giving his Assent to their		
<i>d</i> tions, and unacknoleged by our laws ; giving his assent to their		
<i>e</i> tions, and unacknoleged by our laws ; giving his assent to their		
<i>f</i> tions, and unacknoleged by our laws ; giving his assent to their		
<i>g</i> tion and unacknowledged by our Laws ; giving his Assent to their pre-		

<i>a</i> Acts of pretended Legislation : —		For quartering large
<i>b</i> acts of pretended legislation	[¶]	for quartering large
<i>c</i> Acts of pretended Legislation :	[¶]	For quartering large
<i>d</i> acts of pretended legislation	[¶]	for quartering large
<i>e</i> acts of pretended legislation	[¶]	for quartering large
<i>f</i> acts of pretended legislation	[¶]	for quartering large
<i>g</i> tended Acts of Legislation ;		for quartering large

APPENDIX

<i>a</i> bodies of armed troops among us : —		For protecting them,
<i>b</i> bodies of troops among us	[¶]	for protecting them
<i>c</i> Bodies of Armed Troops among us :	[¶]	For protecting them,
<i>d</i> bodies of armed troops among us ;	[¶]	for protecting them
<i>e</i> bodies of armed troops among us ;	[¶]	for protecting them
<i>f</i> bodies of armed troops among us ;	[¶]	for protecting them
<i>g</i> Bodies of armed Troops among Us ;		for protecting them

<i>a</i> by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should	
<i>b</i> by a mock trial from punishment for any murders, which they should	
<i>c</i> by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should	
<i>d</i> by a mock-trial from punishment for any murders which they should	
<i>e</i> by a mock-trial from punishment for any murders which they should	
<i>f</i> by a mock trial from punishment for any murders which they should	
<i>g</i> by a Mock Tryal from Punishment for any Murders which they Should	

<i>a</i> commit on the Inhabitants of these States : —		For cutting off our
<i>b</i> commit on the inhabitants of these states.	[¶]	for cutting off our
<i>c</i> commit on the Inhabitants of these States :	[¶]	For cutting off our
<i>d</i> commit on the inhabitants of these states ;	[¶]	for cutting off our
<i>e</i> commit on the inhabitants of these states ;	[¶]	for cutting off our
<i>f</i> commit on the inhabitants of these states ;	[¶]	for cutting off our
<i>g</i> commit on the Inhabitants of these States ;		for cutting off our

<i>a</i> Trade with all parts of the world : —		For imposing Taxes on us
<i>b</i> trade with all parts of the world ;	[¶]	for imposing taxes on us
<i>c</i> Trade with all Parts of the World ;	[¶]	For imposing Taxes on us
<i>d</i> trade with all parts of the world ;	[¶]	for imposing taxes on us
<i>e</i> trade with all parts of the world ;	[¶]	for imposing taxes on us
<i>f</i> trade with all parts of the world ;	[¶]	for imposing taxes on us
<i>g</i> Trade with all Parts of the World ;		for imposing Taxes on us

<i>a</i> without our Consent : —		For depriving us in many cases, of
<i>b</i> without our consents	[¶]	for depriving us in many cases of
<i>c</i> without our Consent ;	[¶]	For depriving us, in many Cases, of
<i>d</i> without our consent ;	[¶]	for depriving us of
<i>e</i> without our consent ;	[¶]	for depriving us of
<i>f</i> without our consent ;	[¶]	for depriving us of
<i>g</i> without our Consent ;		for depriving Us of

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

<i>a</i> the benefits of Trial by Jury : —		For transporting us beyond
<i>b</i> the benefits of trial by jury	[¶]	for transporting us beyond
<i>c</i> the Benefits of Trial by Jury:	[¶]	For transporting us beyond
<i>d</i> the benefits of trial by jury :	[¶]	for transporting us beyond
<i>e</i> the benefits of trial by jury ;	[¶]	for transporting us beyond
<i>f</i> the benefits of trial by jury ;	[¶]	for transporting us beyond
<i>g</i> the Benefits of Trial by jury ;		for transporting us beyond

<i>a</i> Seas to be tried for pretended offences : —		For abolish-
<i>b</i> seas to be tried for pretended offences	[¶]	for abolish-
<i>c</i> Seas to be tried for pretended Offences :	[¶]	For abolish-
<i>d</i> seas to be tried for pretended offences ;	[¶]	for abolish-
<i>e</i> seas to be tried for pretended offences ;	[¶]	for abolish-
<i>f</i> seas to be tried for pretended offences ;	[P. 3 ; ¶]	for abolish-
<i>g</i> Seas to be tried for pretended Offences :		

a ing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province,
b ing the free system of english laws in a neighbouring province,
c ing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province,
d ing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province,
e ing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province,
f ing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province,
g

a establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boun-
b establishing therein an arbitrary government and enlarging its boun-
c establishing therein an arbitrary Government, and enlarging it's Boun-
d establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging it's boun-
e establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging it's boun-
f establishing therein an arbitrary government, & enlarging it's Boun-
g

a daries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for
b daries, so as to render it at once an example & fit instrument for
c daries, so as to render it at once an Example and fit Instrument for
d daries, so as to render it at once an example & fit instrument for
e daries, so as to render it at once an example & fit instrument for
f daries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for
g

APPENDIX

a introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies : — For
b introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies. [¶] for
c introducing the same absolute Rule into these Colonies : [¶] For
d introducing the same absolute rule into these states ; [¶] for
e introducing the same absolute rule into these states ; [¶] for
f introducing the same absolute rule into these states ; ⁶⁷ [¶] for
g for

a taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws , and
b taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws and
c taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws , and
d taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws , and
e taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws , and
f taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws ⁶⁸ , &
g taking away our Charters, and

a altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments : —
b altering fundamentally the forms of our governments.
c altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments :
d altering fundamentally the forms of our governments ;
e altering [P. 3] fundamentally the forms of our governments ;
f altering fundamentally the forms of our governments ;
g altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments ;

a For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring
b [¶] for suspending our own legislatures and declaring
c [¶] For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring
d [P. 3; ¶] for suspending our own legislatures, & declaring
e [¶] for suspending our own legislatures & declaring
f [¶] for suspending our own legislatures & declaring
g for Suspending our [P. 3] own Legislatures and declaring

a themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases what-
b themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases what-
c themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all Cases what-
d themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases what-
e themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases what-
f themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases what-
g themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all Cases What-

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

a soever. — He has abdicated Government here,
b soever. [¶] He has abdicated government here
c soever. [¶] he has abdicated Government here,
d soever. [¶] he has abdicated government here, withdrawing his
e soever : [¶] he has abdicated government here, withdrawing his
f soever. [¶] he has abdicated government here, withdrawing his
g soever. [¶] He has abdicated Government here, withdrawing his

a by declaring us out of his Protection
b by declaring us out of his protection
c by declaring us out of his Protection
d governors, & declaring us out of his allegiance and protection
e governors, & declaring us out of his allegiance and protection
f governors, & declaring us out of his⁶⁶
g Governors, and declaring us, out of his Allegiance and Protection

a and waging War against us. — He has plundered our seas,
b and waging war against us. [¶] He has plundered our seas,
c and waging War againft us. [¶] He has plundered our Seas,
d . [¶] he has plundered our seas,
e : [¶] he has plundered our seas,
f
g . [¶] He has plundered our Seas,

a ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the Lives of
b ravaged our coasts burnt our towns & destroyed the lives of
c ravaged our Coasts, burnt our Towns, and destroyed the Lives of
d ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, & destroyed the lives of
e ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, & destroyed the lives of
f
g ravaged our Coasts, burnt our Towns, and destroyed the Lives of

a our People. — He is at this time transporting large Armies of
b our people. [¶] He is at this time transporting large armies of
c our People. [¶] He is, at this Time, transporting large Armies of
d our people : [¶] he is at this time transporting large armi≡≡≡
e our people : [¶] he is at this time transporting large armies of
f
g our People. [¶] He is at this Time transporting large Armies of⁷⁰

APPENDIX

a foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and
b foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and
c foreign Mercenaries to compleat the Works of Death, Desolation, and
d foreign mercenaries, to compleat the works of dea≡ desolation &
e foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation &

f
g foreign Mercenaries to compleat the Works of death, Desolation, and

a tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy
b tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy
c Tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty and Perfidy,
d tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty & perfidy
e tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty & perfidy

f
g Tyranny, already begun with Circumstances of Cruelty and Perfidy

a scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the
b scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages and totally unworthy the
c scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous Ages, and totally unworthy the
d unworthy the
e unworthy the

f
g unworthy the

<i>a</i> Head of a civilized nation. —		He has constrained our fellow
<i>b</i> head of a civilized nation	[¶]	He has constrained our fellow
<i>c</i> Head of a civilized Nation.	[¶]	He has constrained our fellow
<i>d</i> head of a civilised nation.	* [¶]	he has constrained others,
<i>e</i> head of a civilized nation:	* [¶]	he has constrained others,

f
g Head of a civilized Nation.

a Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their
b citizens taken captive on the high seas to bear arms against their
c Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms againſt their
a taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their
e taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their

f
g

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

a Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or
b country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren or
c Country, to become the Executioners of their Friends and Brethren, or
d country, to become the executioners of their friends, & brethren, or
e country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or

f

g

<i>a</i> to fall themselves by their Hands. —	He has excited
<i>b</i> to fall themselves by their hands	[¶] He has excited
<i>c</i> to fall themselves by their Hands.	[¶] He has excited
<i>d</i> to fall themselves by their hands=	⁷¹ [¶] he
<i>e</i> to fall themselves by their hands : ⁷²	⁷¹ [¶] he

f

g

[¶] He

a domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the
b domestic insurrections amongst us and has endeavoured to bring on the
c domestic Insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the
d has endeavored to bring on the
e has endeavored to bring on the

f

g

has endeavoured to bring on the

a inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known
b inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless indian savages, whose known
c Inhabitants of our Frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known
d inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known
e inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known

f

g Inhabitants of our Frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known

a rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and
b rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and
c Rule of Warfare is an undistinguished Destruction, of all Ages, Sexes and
d rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, &
e rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, &

f

g Rule of Warfare is an undistinguished Destruction of all Ages, Sexes, and

APPENDIX

a conditions .
b conditions
c Conditions .
d conditions of existence . [¶] he has incited treasonable insurrections of
e conditions of existence : [¶] he has incited treasonable insurrections of
f
g Conditions of Existence. [¶] He has incited treasonable Insurrections of

a
b
c
d our fellow citizens , with the allurements of forfeiture & confisca-
e our fellow-citizens , with the allurements of forfeiture & confisca-
f
g our Fellow Citizens ⁷³, with the Allurement ⁷⁴ of Forfeiture & Confisca-

a
b
c
d tion of our property. || [¶] he has waged cruel war against human
e tion of our property : || [¶] he has waged cruel war against =====
f
g tion of our Property. [¶] He has waged cruel War against human

a
b
c
d nature itself, violating it's most sacred rights of life & liberty in the
e ===== itself, violating it's most sacr===== of life & liberty in the
f
g Nature itself, violating its most Sacred Right ⁷⁵ of Life and Liberty in the

a
b
c
d persons of a distant people, who never offended him, captivating and
e persons of a distant people, who never offended him, captivating &
f
g Persons of a distant People who never offended him, captivating and

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

a

b

c

d carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable

e carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable

f

g carrying them into Slavery in another Hemisphere, or to incur miserable

a

b

c

d death in their transportation thither. this piratical warfare, the

e death in their transportation thither. this piratical warfare, the

f

g Death, in their Transportation thither. This piratical Warfare, the

a

b

c

d opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of

e opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of

f

g opprobrium of infidel Powers, is the Warfare of the Christian King of

a

b

c

d Great Britain. determined to keep open a market where MEN

e Great Britain. determined to keep open a market where MEN

f

g Great Britain. [¶] ~~determined to~~

a

b

c

d should be bought & sold,

he has prostituted his negative for

e should be bought & sold,⁷⁰

he has prostituted his negative for

f

g " [¶] He has prostituted his Negative for.

APPENDIX

a

b

c

d suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this ex-

e suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this ex-

f

g Suppressing every legislative Attempt to prohibit or to restrain an⁷⁸ ex-

a

b

c

d ecrable commerce=

e ecrable commerce :

f

g ecrable Commerce, determined to keep open a Market where Men Should

a

b

c

d and that this assemblage of horrors might want no

e and that this assemblage of horrors might want no

f

g be bought and Sold,⁷⁹ and that this Assemblage of Horrors might want no

a

b

c

d fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people

e fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people

f

g Fact of distinguished Die [¶] He is now exciting those very People

a

b

c

d to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has

e to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has

f

g to rise in Arms among Us, and to purchase that Liberty of which he has

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

a

b

c

d deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom he also obtruded

e deprived them \equiv by murdering the people upon whom he also obtruded

f

g deprived them, by murdering the People upon whom he also obtruded

a

b

c

d them : thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of

e them \equiv thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of

f

g them : thus paying off, former Crimes committed against the Liberties of

a

b

c

d one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the

e one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the

f

g one People, with Crimes which he urges them to commit against the

a

In every stage of these Oppressions We have

b

[¶] In every stage of these oppressions we have

c

[¶] In every stage of these Oppressions we have

d lives of another.

[¶] In every stage of these oppressions, we have

e lives of another.

[¶] in every stage of these oppressions, we have

f

g Lives of another. [¶] In every Stage of these Oppressions we have

a Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms : Our repeated Petitions

b petitioned for redress in the most humble terms : Our repeated petitions

c Petitioned for Redress in the most humble Terms : Our repeated Petitions

d petitioned for redress in the most humble terms ; our repeated petitions

e petitioned for redress in the most humble terms ; our repeated petitions

f

g petitioned for redress, in the most humble Terms ; our repeated Petitions

APPENDIX

- only⁸⁰
- a* have been answered ^ by repeated injury . A Prince, whose
b have been answered only by repeated injury . A prince whose
c have been answered only by repeated Injury . A Prince, whose
d have been answered only by repeated injury . a prince whose
e have been answered only⁸¹ by repeated injury . a prince whose
f [P. 4]
g have been answered by repeated Injury⁸². A Prince, whose
- a* character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is
b character is thus marked by every act, which may define a tyrant, is
c Character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is
d character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is
e character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is
f character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is
g Character is thus marked by every Act which may define a Tyrant, is
- a* unfit to be the ruler of a free people
b unfit to be the ruler of a free people
c unfit to be the Ruler of a free People
d unfit to be the ruler of a people who mean to be free≡ future
e unfit to be the ruler of a people who mean to be free. future
f unfit to be the ruler of a people who mean to be free. future
g unfit to be the Ruler of a People who mean to be free. — future
- a*
b
c
d ages will scarce believe that the hardness of one man adventured
e ages will scarce believe that the hardness of one man adventured
f ages will scarce believe that the hardness of one man adventured
g Ages will Scarce believe, that the Hardiness of one Man, adventured,
- a*
b
c
d within the short compass of twelve years only to build a foundation,
e within the short compass of twelve years only, to build a foundation,
f within the short compass of twelve years only, to build⁸³ a foundation,
g within the Short Compass of twelve years only, on So many Acts of Tyr-

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

a
b
c
d so broad and undisguised, for tyranny over a people fostered and fixed
e so broad & undisguised for tyranny over a people fostered & fixed
f so broad & undisguised, for tyranny over a people fostered & fixed
g anny, without a Mask, over a People, fostered and fixed

<i>a</i>			Nor have We been wanting
<i>b</i>		[¶]	Nor have we been wanting
<i>c</i>		[¶]	Nor have we been wanting
<i>d</i>	in principles of freedom.	[P. 4; ¶]	Nor have we been wanting
<i>e</i>	in principles of freedom.	[P. 4; ¶]	Nor have we been wanting
<i>f</i>	in principles of freedom.	[¶]	Nor have we been wanting
<i>g</i>	in the ³⁴ Principles of Liberty.	[P. 4, ¶]	Nor have we been wanting

<i>a</i>	in attentions to our British brethren.	We have warned them from
<i>b</i>	in attentions to our british brethren.	We have warned them from
<i>c</i>	in Attentions to our British brethren.	We have warned them from
<i>d</i>	in attentions to our British brethren.	we have warned them from
<i>e</i>	in attentions to our British brethren.	we have warned them from
<i>f</i>	in attentions to our British brethren.	we have warned them from
<i>g</i>	in Attentions to our British Brethren.	We have warned them from

a time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwar-
b time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwar-
c Time to Time of Attempts by their Legislature to extend an unwar-
d time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend a
e time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend a
f time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend a
g Time to Time of attempts of their Legislature, to extend a

<i>a</i>	rantable jurisdiction over us	.	We have reminded them
<i>b</i>	rantable jurisdiction over us	.	We have reminded them
<i>c</i>	rantable Jurisdiction over us	.	We have reminded them
<i>d</i>	jurisdiction over these our states.	we have reminded them	
<i>e</i>	jurisdiction over these our states.	we have reminded them	
<i>f</i>	jurisdiction over these our states.	we have reminded them	
<i>g</i>	Jurisdiction over these our States.	We have reminded them	

APPENDIX

a of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here.
b of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here.
c of the Circumstances of our Emigration and Settlement here.
d of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here, no one of
e of the circumstances of our emigration & settlement here, no one of
f of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here, no one of
g of the Circumstances of our Emigration and Settlement here, no one of

a

b

c

d which could warrant so strange a pretention : that these were effected at
e which could warrant so strange a pretension : that these were effected at
f which could warrant so strange a pretension : that these were effected at
g which could warrant So Strange a Pretension : that these were effected at

a

b

c

d the expence of our own blood and treasure, unassisted by the wealth or
e the expence of our own blood & treasure, unassisted by the wealth or
f the expence of our own blood & treasure, unassisted by the wealth or
g the expence of our own Blood & Treasure, unassisted by the Wealth or

a

b

c

d the strength of Great Britain : that in constituting indeed our several
e the strength of Great Britain : that in constituting indeed our several
f the strength of Great Britain : that in constituting indeed our several
g the Strength of Great Britain : that in constituting indeed, our Several

a

b

c

d forms of government= we had adopted one common king, thereby laying
e forms of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby laying
f forms of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby laying
g Forms of Government, We had adopted one common King, thereby laying

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

a
b
c

d a foundation for perpetual league and amity with them : but that submis-
e a foundation for perpetual league & amity with them : but that submis-
f a founda-⁸⁵
g a Foundation for perpetual League and Amity with them : but that Submis-

a
b
c

d sion to their parliament was no part of our constitution, nor ever in idea,
e sion to their parliament was no part of our constitution, nor ever in idea,
f
g sion to their Parliament, was no Part of our Constitution, nor ever in Idea,

a
b
c

d if history may be credited : and we We have appealed to their native jus-
e if history may be credited : and we We have appealed to their native jus-
f if History may be credited : and We We have appealed to their native Jus-
g if History may be credited : and We appealed to their Native Jus-

a
b
c
d
e
f

a tice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our
b tice and magnanimity and we have conjured them by the ties of our
c tice and Magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the Ties of our
d tice & magnanimity, as well as to the ties of our
e tice & magnanimity, as well as to the ties of our
f tice and Magnanimity, as well as to the Ties of our

a
b
c
d
e
f

a common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably
b common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably
c common Kindred to disavow these Usurpations, which, would inevitably
d common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which were likely to
e common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which were likely to
f common Kindred to disavow these Usurpations, which were likely to

APPENDIX

a interrupt our connections and correspondence	. They
b interrupt our connections & correspondence	. They
c interrupt our Connections and Correspondence	. They
d interrupt our connection & correspondence	. they
e interrupt our connection & correspondence	. they

f

g interrupt our Correspondence and Connection. They

a too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity
 b too have been deaf to the voice of justice & consanguinity
 c too have been deaf to the Voice of Justice and of Consanguinity
 d too have been deaf to the voice of justice, and of consanguinity; and
 e too have been deaf to the voice of justice & of consanguinity. and

f

g too have been deaf to the Voice of Justice and of Consanguinity and

a

b

c

d when occasions have been given them, by the regular course of their
 e when occasions have been given them, by the regular course of their

f

g when Occasions have been given them, by the regular Course of their

a

b

c

d laws, of removing from their Councils the disturbers of our Harmony,
 e laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony,

f

g Laws of removing from their Councils, the Disturbers of our Harmony,

a

b

c

d they have by their free election re-established them in power. at
 e they have by their free election re-established them in power. at

f

g they have by their free Election, reestablished them in Power. A[t]⁹⁹

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

a

b

c

d this very time too, they are permitting their chief magistrate to send

e this very time too, they are permitting their chief magistrate to send

f

g this very Time too, they are permitting their Chief Magistrate to send

a

b

c

d over not only soldiers of our common blood, but [Scotch and] ^{or} foreign

e over not only soldiers of our common blood, but [Scotch and] ^{or} foreign

f

g over not only Soldiers of our common Blood, but Scotch and foreign

a

b

c

d mercenaries to invade and destroy us . these facts have

e mercenaries to invade & destroy us ^{or} . these facts have

f

g Mercenaries, to invade and deluge Us in Blood. These Facts have

a

b

c

d given the last stab to agonizing affection; and manly spirit bids us

e given the last stab to agonizing affection≡ and manly spirit bids us

f

g given the last Stab to agonizing Affection, and manly Spirit bids us

a

. We must, therefore,

b

. We must therefore

c

. We must, therefore,

d to renounce forever these unfeeling brethren. we must

e to renounce ≡≡≡ these unfeeling brethren. we mu≡

f

g to renounce forever these unfeeling Brethren. We must

APPENDIX

a

b

c

d endeavor to forget our former love for them, and to hold them as we

e forget our former love for them, and to hold them, as we

f

g endeavour to forget our former Love for them, and to hold them, as we

a

b

c

d hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. we

e hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. we

f

g hold the rest of Mankind, enemies in War, in Peace Friends. We

a

b

c

d might have been a free & a great people together; but a communication

e might have been a free & a great people together; but a communication

f

g might have been a free and a great People together but a Communication

a

b

c

d of grandeur and of freedom, it seems, is below their dignity= be

e of grandeur and of freedom, it seems, is below their dignity. be

f

g of Grandeur and of Freedom it seems, is below their Dignity. [¶] Be

a

b

c

d it so, since they will have it. the road to happiness and to glory

e it so, since they will have it: the road to happiness and to glory

f

g it So, Since they will have it: The Road to Happiness and to Glory⁸⁰

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

a acquiesce
b acquiesce
c acquiesce

d is open to us too; we will climb it apart from them \equiv and acquiesce
e is open to us too; we will climb it apart from them , and acquiesce

f
g is open to Us too; We will climb ⁹⁰ it, apart from them ⁹¹, and acquiesce

a in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold
b in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold
c in the Necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold
d in the necessity which denounces our eternal separation
e in the necessity which denounces our eternal separation

f
g in the Necessity, which ⁹²denounces our eternal Separation ⁹³

a them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace
b them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace
c them, as we hold the rest of Mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace,

d
e
f
g

a Friends. — [¶] We, therefore, the Representatives of the united
b friends [¶] We therefore the representatives of the united
c Friends. [¶] We, therefore the representatives of the UNITED
d ! [¶] We therefore the Representatives of the United
e ! [¶] We therefore the Representatives of the United
f
g ! [¶] We therefore the Representatives of the united

a States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing
b States of America in general Congress assembled appealing
c STATES OF AMERICA, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing
d States of America, in General Congress assembled,
e States of America, in General Congress assembled,
f
g States of America in General Congress assembled,

APPENDIX

a to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions
b to the supreme judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions
c to the Supreme Judge of the World for the Rectitude of our Intentions,

d

e

f

g

<i>a</i> do, in the Name, and by	Authority of the good People of these
<i>b</i> do in the name and by	authority of the good people of these
<i>c</i> do, in the Name and by	Authority of the good People of these
<i>d</i> do, in the name & by	authority of the good people of these
<i>e</i> do, in the name & by	authority of the good people of these

f

g do, in the Name, and by the ^{sa} Authority of the good People of these

a Colonies,

b colonies

c Colonies,

d states , reject and renounce all allegiance and subjection to the kings

e states , reject and renounce all allegiance & subjection to the kings

f

g States , reject and renounce all Allegiance and Subjection to the Kings

a

b

c

d of Great Britain, & all others who may hereafter claim by, through, or

e of Great Britain, and all others who may hereafter claim by, through, or

f

g of Great Britain, and all others who may hereafter claim by, through, or

a

b

c

d under them ; we utterly dissolve all political connection

e under them ; we utterly dissolve all political connection

f

g under them ; We utterly dissolve and break off, all political Connections

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

a
b
c
d which may heretofore have subsisted between us and the parlia-
e which may heretofore have subsisted between us and the parlia-
f
g which may have heretofore Subsisted between Us and the

a solemnly publish and
b solemnly publish and
c solemnly Publish and
d ment or people of Great Britain≡ and finally we do assert
e ment or people of Great Britain ; and finally we do assert
f
g People or Parliament of Great Britain, and finally we do assert and

a declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought
b declare — [¶] That these united colonies are and of right ought
c Declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought
d the≡ colonies
e these colonies
f
g declare, these Colonies

a to be Free and Independent States ; that they are Absolved from
b to be free and independant States ; that they are absolved from
c to be, Free and Independent States ; that they are absolved from
d to be free and independant states ,
e to be free and independent states ,
f
g to be free and independent states ,

a all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection
b all allegiance to the british Crown, and that all political connection
c all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political Connection
d
e
f
g

APPENDIX

a between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally
b between them and the state of great Britain is & ought to be totally
c between them and the State of Great-Britain, is and ought to be totally

d

e

f

g

a dissolved ; and that as Free and Independent States, they

b dissolved ; and that as free & independant states they

c dissolved ; and that as Free and Independent States, they

d & that as free & independant states, they

e and that as free & independant states, they

f

g and that as free and independant States they Shall hereafter

a have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances,

b have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances,

c have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances,

d have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances,

e have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances,

f

g have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances,

a establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which

b establish commerce, and to do all other acts & things, which

c establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which

d establish commerce, & to do all other acts and things which

e establish commerce, & to do all other acts^{es} and things which

f

g establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which

a Independent States may of right do. — And for the support of this

b independant states may of right do. And for the support of this

c Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this

d independant states may of right do. And for the support of this

e independant states may of right do. And for the support of this

f

g Independent States may of Right do. And for the Support of this

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

a Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Provi-
b declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine provi-
c Declaration, with a firm Reliance on the Protection of divine Provi-
d declaration
e declaration,

f
g Declaration,

a dence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes
b dence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes
c dence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes,
d we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes,
e we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes⁹⁸

f
g We mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes,

a and our sacred Honor .
b & our sacred honor .
c and our sacred Honor .
d and our sacred honor .
e & our sacred honor .

f
g and our Sacred Honour.

APPENDIX

a Button Gwinnett	W ^m Hooper	John Hancock	Robt Morris	W ^m Floyd	Josiah Bartlett
Lyman Hall	Joseph Hewes,	Samuel Chase	Benjamin Rush	Phil. Livingston	W ^m Whipple
Geo Walton.	John Penn	W ^m Paca	Benjt Franklin	Fran ^s Lewis	Saml Adams
		Tho ^s Stone	John Morton	Lewis Morris	John Adams
		Charles Carroll of Carrollton	Geo Clymer	Rich ^d Stockton	Robt Treat Paine
	Edward Rutledge/.	George Wythe	Jas Taylor	Jn ^o Witherspoon	Elbridge Gerry
	Tho ^s Heyward Junr	Richard Henry Lee	James Wilson	Fra ^s Hopkinson	Step Hopkins
	Thomas Lynch Junr	Th Jefferson	Geo. Rofs	John Hart	William Ellery
	Arthur Middleton	Benj ^s Harrison	Cesar Rodney—	Abra Clark	Roger Sherman
		Tho ^s Nelson jr.	Geo Read		Saml Huntington
		Francis Lightfoot Lee	Tho M: Kean		W ^m Williams
		Carter Braxton —			Oliver Wolcott
					Matthew Thornton

Signed by Order and in Behalf of the Congress,
JOHN HANCOCK, President

Attest.
CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.

Philadelphia : Printed by John Dunlap.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The Declaration on parchment, the copy in the *corrected* Journal and the broadside printed by Dunlap under the order of Congress, we have considered elsewhere. We will, therefore, consider (first) only the other drafts.

the American
Philosophical
Society

As we have seen, Jefferson, on July 8, 1776, sent to R. H. Lee "a copy of the Declaration of Independence as agreed to by the house", & also as originally framed."

Lee answered, from Chantilly, July 21st: "[S] I thank you much for your favor and its enclosures by this post, and I wish sincerely, as well for the honor of Congress, as for that of the States, that the Manuscript had not been mangled as it is. It is wonderful, and passing pitiful, that the rage of change should be so unhappily applied — However the *Thing* is in its nature so good, that no Cookery can spoil the Dish for the palates of Freemen."

Of this copy "as originally framed", R. H. Lee, the grandson, in *Memoir of the Life of Richard Henry Lee* (1825), writes: "The original was carefully preserved by Mr. Lee¹⁰⁰. . . It has been as carefully preserved by his family¹⁰¹, and finally [1821(?)] committed to the author."

The "author" sent it, it appears, during the same year, by George W. Smith, to The American Philosophical Society, in Philadelphia — where it was received, August 9th, and where it now is.

It is in the handwriting of Jefferson and fills the front and reverse sides of two sheets of foolscap now much worn and faded. These have been folded at some time once lengthwise and five times crosswise. (It is framed between glass.)

On the right side of the last page — lengthwise — appears: "[A] Declaration of Independence as reported to Congress July 1777 [1776]". On the edges (in the main) — but also by lines under certain words, and occasionally by one side of a bracket or a vertical line, and the word "out" — are indicated the amendments¹⁰² made by Congress. At the bottom of the last page — across, and stated to be in the handwriting of R. H. Lee, the grandson — is the following: "[A] The endorsement [*supra*] is in the hand-writing of R. H. Lee, the alterations¹⁰³ in that of Arthur Lee."

In response to an inquiry, made, as we shall see, just after it was received by the Society, Jefferson writes (from Monticello, September 16,

APPENDIX

1825, to Vaughan): "[P] I am not able to give you any particular account of the paper handed you by m^r Lee, as being either the original, or a copy of the declaration of Independance, sent by myself to his grandfather. the draught when completed by myself, with a few verbal amendments, by D^r. Franklin and m^r Adams, two members of the Committee, in their own hand-writing, is now in my own possession, and a fair copy of this was reported to the Committee, passed by them without amendment, and then reported to Congress; this paper should be among the records of the old Congress; and whether this, or the one from which it was copied, and now in my hands, is to be called the Original is a question of definition. to that in my hands, if worth preserving, my relations with our University gives irresistable claims. whenever, in the course of the composition, a copy became overcharged, and difficult to be read with amendments, I copied it fair, and when that also was crowded with other amendments, another fair copy was made Ec.¹⁰⁴ these rough drafts¹⁰⁵ I sent to distant friends who were anxious to know what was passing — but how many, and to whom, I do not recollect. one sent to Mazzei was given by him to the countess de Tessé (aunt of M^d. de la Fayette) as the original, & is probably now in the hands of her family. whether the paper sent to R. H. Lee was one of these, or whether, after the passage of the instrument, I made a copy for him, with the amendments of Congress, may, I think be known from the face of the paper . . . I am still confined by indisposition, and not likely soon to be relieved from it."

On October 26th of the same year, he pens to Dr. James W. Wallace the following¹⁰⁶: "[P; —] I rec^d a l^re of Sep. 9. from John Vaughan, of the A. P. S. informing me that R. H. Lee, gr. son, of the revolutionary of that name had deposited with that society the original l^res of the correspds of his gr. father of which he has availed himself in the Memoirs of his life "among which is the original or copy in my hand-writing of the draught of the Declⁿ of Indep^dcē. with the alterⁿs, in the margin, or on the document, which had been enclosed' by me to R. H. Lee on the 8th of July 1776." the work is out and the docum^{ts} occupy I am told it's 2^d vol.¹⁰⁷ when I see it I shall be able to say what it is. but I believe all pretensions to his participⁿ in it² the¹⁰⁸ authorship of the Declⁿ¹⁰⁸ are retired from. I await however to see that paper."

In view of these letters, it seems very strange that we have no expression on the subject from Jefferson following the receipt of *Memoir*, etc.;

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

but such, so far as we know, is the fact. In his letter to Lee, the grandson, dated Monticello, November 29, 1825, he says simply: "[P] I thank you, Sir, for the copy you have been so kind as to send me of the life of R. H. Lee. I shall read it with great pleasure . . . your grandfather was a great man and acted a great part¹⁰⁹ in those awful scenes, and he is fortunate in having a descendant capable of making known his merits to the generat^{ion} which will feel their benefits."

Lee, the grandson, however, writing from Washington to Vaughan, February 25, 1840, says: "[A] The paper . . . may be called with strict truth *an Original Draught*. It is more so, than that [the Declaration on parchment, evidently] at Washington — It was written verbatim after the first rough draught *of the Author*, by the Author himself. It is as much, therefore, *an original* Draught as it well can be, inasmuch as the priority in time as to the first *composed* paper, is a matter of no account, where the *same Author writes, at the same time and occasion*, the two draughts. Neither are copies —" ¹¹⁰

Indeed, he writes again, from the same city to the same gentleman, April 24, 1840, saying: "[A] As you think my account of the Draught of the Declaration of Independence, in the Athenæum [Society], would be desirable, I enclose one." The "account" reads: "[A] The Draught of the Declaration of Independence in the Athenæum in Philadelphia, in the handwriting of M^r Jefferson, came into my possession, together with the Mss of Richard Henry Lee from [my uncle] Francis L. Lee, one of the Sons of R. H. Lee; and was presented by me to the Athenæum in Ph^a. The history of this document given to me by my father [Ludwell Lee] and his brother [said Francis L. Lee], as given them by their Father R. H. Lee derived from M^r Jefferson, is this, that after alterations had been made in Committee of the first draught drawn by M^r Jefferson ¹¹¹, *he drew two Draughts, one to be reported to Congress; and the other* ¹¹² *for Richard H. Lee, which he sent to him enclosed in a letter dated (I think) on the 8th July 1774 [1776]. This letter and the Draught were carefully preserved by R. H. Lee and after his death were as carefully preserved by his Sons. Copies of the letter were taken; but the original had been lost, before the original of the Mss of R. H. Lee came into my hands — The copy which I presented to the Athenæum with the Draught, was declared to me by the sons of R. H. Lee, to be an exact copy. The Draught being drawn by M^r Jefferson himself,*

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before the report had been made to Congress, is as much *an Original*, as any other in existence. The interlineations on the Draught were written by Arthur Lee."

The copy in the New York Public Library (Lenox) was purchased from Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet of New York City. He secured it from Elliot Danforth of the same place, who purchased it from Cassius F. Lee of Alexandria, Va. Lee had written to both Emmet and Danforth, but Emmet's letter accepting the Declaration upon the terms proposed was not received until after Danforth had purchased it.

In the New
York Public
Library
(Lenox)

How it came into the hands of Lee is not known.

Danforth writes us that he cannot find the letters which he received from Lee, even if they are still in existence. Emmet writes us: "I did not preserve Mr. Lee's letters —" Lee died in 1892, and, so far as we can learn by corresponding with his daughter, Mrs. W. J. (Lucy Lee) Boothe, Jr., of Alexandria, left no record of the history of the manuscript (if he knew anything of it) among his papers.

Emmet writes, however, to Hays (Hays says): "Mr. Lee stated to me that it was one of the copies Jefferson sent his grandfather, and that it had been sent to someone in lower Virginia by Richard Henry Lee shortly after, and that it was not recovered for many years after"; but this, we think, cannot be true, unless Jefferson sent it with some other letter than that (See p. 344) of July 8, 1776, which seems scarcely possible.

It may very well be the copy¹¹⁸ which Jefferson mailed to Pendleton or the one¹¹⁴ found among the papers of Wythe or, if there ever was such a copy, the copy¹¹⁶ mailed to Page.

It also is in the handwriting of Jefferson and fills the front and reverse sides of two sheets of foolscap; and the paper itself is of the same character and size as that used for the draft which he sent to R. H. Lee. Indeed, pages 1, 2 and 4 respectively of these two drafts end *upon the same word*; while page 3 of this copy ends with the word "altering" and of the copy sent to Lee with "altering fundamentally the forms of our governments;": from which it might appear that one was copied from the other. The individual lines, however, as well as the underscored words, as we have seen, do not always correspond; and there is sometimes an "and" in one where there is an "&" in the other and an occasional *slight* difference in punctuation. There is no indorsement — or, indeed, any extra-

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neous writing — upon it as there is upon the copy which was sent to Lee. It has at some time been folded once each way.

In the Massachusetts Historical Society

The copy in the Massachusetts Historical Society was presented to that Society by Alexander C. Washburn and Ellen M. (Bailey) Washburn, his wife, of Boston, April 13, 1893. Mrs. Washburn is dead; and the former, whom we saw personally, could give nothing of its history.

It likewise is in Jefferson's handwriting and is written upon both the front and reverse sides of two sheets of foolscap of the same character and size as that used for the draft now in The American Philosophical Society (and for the draft now in the New York Public Library, Lenox). These sheets have been folded four times crosswise; and, as we have seen, three-fourths of the second are missing. It has no endorsement or other extraneous writing upon it.

It may very well be the copy ¹¹⁶ which Jefferson mailed to Pendleton or the one ¹¹⁷ found among the papers of Wythe or, if there ever was such a copy, the copy ¹¹⁸ mailed to Page.

In the handwriting of John Adams

The copy in the handwriting of John Adams (now at the Massachusetts Historical Society) fills both the front and reverse sides of two sheets of foolscap of the same character and size as that used for the three drafts just referred to in the handwriting of Jefferson. It has no endorsement or other extraneous writing upon it.

Charles Francis Adams, in speaking of it, says: "[J] Among the papers left by Mr. Adams, is a transcript, by his own hand, of the Declaration of Independence, very nearly as it appears in Mr. Jefferson's rough draught. This must have been made by him before the paper had been subjected to any change in committee, as none of the alterations which appear on the original, as made at the instance of Dr. Franklin, and but one of the two suggested by himself, are found there. Several variations occur, however, in the phraseology, and one or two passages are wholly omitted. The most natural inference is, that he had modified it to suit his own notions of excellence, without deeming the alterations worth pressing in committee. As Mr. Jefferson says that this draught was submitted separately, first to Mr. Adams, and afterwards to Dr. Franklin, the presence of this copy does not affect the question of the correctness of either version of the proceedings."

It seems certain, however, that Charles Francis Adams is mistaken in

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thinking that John Adams "modified it to suit his own notions of excellence, without deeming the alterations worth pressing in committee." It is, without doubt, merely a *copy*, made by John Adams, of the "Rough draught" of Jefferson — that is, a copy of that "Rough draught" *as it read when Adams copied it*. That this is so will readily be seen by comparing it with that "Rough draught" (See between pp. 144 and 145). It will be found that it conforms very closely to that "Rough draught" *as originally drawn* (or, if another or other drafts preceded that so-called "Rough draught" — See note 104, *supra* —, *as first written*). Where it does *not* conform (except as to punctuation, etc.), we have indicated by notes, appended to the Adams copy (draft *g*).

Adams — during or immediately after the final debates — evidently sent this copy to Massachusetts to Mrs. Adams; for she writes to him under date of July 14, 1776: "[Ad] By yesterday's post I received two letters dated 3d and 4th of July [See note 32, chapter VII] . . . I cannot but be sorry that some of the most manly sentiments [She very likely thought the draft Adams' composition] in the Declaration are expunged from the printed copy. [It is not clear from this whether Adams enclosed a printed copy, though this is probable, or whether she learned the contents of the printed copy from the copy or copies mentioned by Price and Cooper (See note 81, chapter XI). Certainly, she cannot yet have received the copy of *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* sent on the 7th (See note 6, chapter XI).] Perhaps wise reasons indorsed it."

Nor do we know just when (the date) it was made; though it was made evidently (See note 6, chapter VI) before the amendments by Franklin and, therefore, before Jefferson's "Rough draught" was submitted to Franklin, and probably at the time when that "Rough draught" was submitted (first, if *submitted* more than once — see note 55, *supra*) to Adams. See p. 144.

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Charles Francis Adams says: "[J] It is said that a similar copy, in the handwriting of Dr. Franklin, has been discovered in England, and is in the hands of an American gentleman in London."

A draft in the handwriting of Jefferson which has not been located — unless it be the one now in the New York Public Library (Lenox) or the one now in the Massachusetts Historical Society — was sent to

Sent to
Pendleton

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Pendleton; for he writes to Jefferson, from "Caroline", August 10, 1776: "[8] Y: Esteemed Fav: of July 29th I rec^d, wth D: Price's Judicious Pamphlet . . . I am also obliged ¹¹⁰ by y^r Original Declaration of Independence, which I find your brethren have treated as they did ye manifesto last summer — altered it much for the worse; their hope of a Reconciliation might restrain them from plain truths then, but what could cramp them now?"

Sent to Wythe Another draft in the handwriting of Jefferson which has not been located — unless *it* is the one in the New York Public Library (Lenox) or the one in the Massachusetts Historical Society — would seem ¹²⁰ to have been sent to Wythe; for the *Richmond Enquirer* ¹²¹ (C) of August 6, 1822, says:

MALIGNITY EXPOSED.

The subjoined article from the Charleston Patriot exposes another of the vile attempts, which have been recently made by a sleepless spirit of resentment, to strip the laurel from the brow of Jefferson . . . At least thirteen years ago ¹²² we published in this paper a copy of the original draft ¹²³ as it came from his own hands: This copy was in his handwriting, and was found among the papers of the late Mr. Wythe, the friend and instructor of his early years. This copy was published in Niles's W. Register, & in various other newspapers of this continent. And now forsooth, we are to be amused with a new discovery of the original draft being "scored and scratched like a school-boy's exercise." This is a most miserable exaggeration — the variations, which were made, were most of them disapproved of by the author — we recollect those passages well — and we repeat what we said at the time of re-publication, that the paper was altered for the worse . . .

[From the Charleston Patriot.]

This would appear to be an age of calumny and all uncharitableness . . . But as if malice is contagious or admits of being propagated, a coadjutor to the "Native of Virginia" has appeared in the Federal Republican, whose article will be found below, and who wishes to rob Mr. Jefferson of the fame of having solely written the Declaration of Independence. — Richard Henry Lee is credited with the honor of having *moved* the Declaration, and of having corrected and amended the original report of this celebrated paper. Mr. Jefferson is not denied having furnished the outlines of the Declaration, but it is pretended that it is the work as it now stands of abler hands. Now, the plain intent of this fresh or forgotten fragment of history just recovered and brought to light, is to deprive Mr. Jefferson of all credit for originality in drawing up the Declaration of Independence . . . The credit of being the *author* of the Declaration is nowise impaired by the subject being *moved* by another; but the insinuation that the original draft only was furnished by him and not the perfect copy as it now stands, is contradicted by the evidence of contemporaries. Let us see these promised documents . . .

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[From the Philadelphia Union.]

We have long been acquainted with the facts alluded to in the following article from the *Federal Republican*. We have seen Mr. Jefferson's draft¹²⁴ of the Declaration of Independence, scored and scratched like a school boy's exercise. When Mr. Schaeffer shall comply with his promise to publish the documents relating to this subject, the jack daw will be stripped of the plumage, with which adulation has adorned him, and the crown will be placed on the head of a real patriot.

Richard Henry Lee. — It is truly remarkable that this great statesman is forgotten among all of the celebrities of the *Fourth of July*. It is to this "illustrious" patriot, we are indebted for our *Declaration of Independence*, for it was *he* who moved it in Congress . . . Among men of sense, candor and truth, there will be no question whether *he* who *dared* openly to propose the project, or *he* who had the principal agency in putting it on paper deserves the most credit . . .

Ere long, we hope to have leisure to publish some very important documents on this subject. We have the *very copy*¹²⁵ of the declaration of independence, as it was originally reported and sent by the "illustrious penman," to this same *Richard Henry Lee* together with his remarks¹²⁶ on it in his own *hand writing* . . .

[Fed. Rep.]

The Weekly Register (C and N) referred to — of July 3, 1813 — says:

The time fitting the purpose, we embrace this occasion to present our readers with the Declaration of Independence, placing by its side the original draft¹²⁷ of Mr. *Jefferson*, about which much curiosity and speculation has existed. The paper from which we have our copy, was found among the literary reliques of the late venerable *George Wythe*, of Virginia, in the hand writing of Mr. J. and delivered to the editor [Thomas Ritchie] of the *Richmond Enquirer* by the executor of Mr. *Wythe's* estate, major Duval. The passages stricken out of the original, by the committee, are inserted in *italics*.

Here follow in separate columns a copy (seemingly) of the Declaration as printed by Dunlap under the order of Congress and a copy¹²⁸ (substantially) of it as submitted to Congress by the committee on June 28th. Below appears the following: "The Declaration as adopted was also signed." ; and then come the names of the signers, except that of M:Kean, arranged by Colonies.

As to whether or not a draft was sent to John Page, we have discussed elsewhere.¹²⁹ Sent to Page (?)

Of the draft sent to Mazzei, mentioned by Jefferson in his letter¹³⁰ of September 16, 1825, to John Vaughan, we have no other record of any kind. Sent to Mazzei

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In Jefferson's *notes* We have already given in the text ¹⁸¹ the Declaration as embodied in Jefferson's *notes*.

Sent to Madison Jefferson writes to Madison, from Monticello, June 1, 1783: "[S] I send you inclosed the debates in Congress on the subjects of Independance . . . as you were desirous of having a copy of the original of the declaration of Independance I have inserted it at full length distinguishing the alterations it underwent."

Both this letter and "the debates . . . on . . . Independance," with "a copy of the original of the declaration . . . inserted", (formerly in the Department of State) are now ¹⁸² in the Library of Congress.

The "debates" and "declaration" — which purport to be an exact copy of, and which are substantially ¹⁸³ the same as, the *notes* heretofore given (See p. 295) — are in the form of a pamphlet (6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. by 4 in.). At the top of the first page, in the handwriting of Madison, is the following: "[S] furnished to J. M. by M: | Jefferson in his hand writing; as | a copy from his original notes." They are given in *The Madison Papers* (Washington, 1840), vol. 1, p. 9; and a *facsimile* of the Declaration *proper* may be found in the third volume.

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A copy of the Declaration — endorsed: "[S] *Original draught of Declaration of Independ^{ce} by M: J.*" — (formerly in the Department of State) also is in the Library of Congress. This, as well as the endorsement, is in the handwriting of Madison. It was doubtless made from the copy of the *notes* (above referred to) which Jefferson sent him.

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DICKINSON'S "VINDICATION"

¹²⁴ Four charges are brought against me.

First, That I opposed the declaration of independence in Congress.

. . .

The first charge, as it is made, I deny : but I confess that I opposed the making the declaration of independence *at the time when it was made*. The right and authority of Congress to make it, the justice of making it, I acknowledged. The policy of *then* making it I disputed.

To render this charge criminal, it should be shewn that I was influenced by unworthy motives. It will not be enough to prove that I was mistaken : so far from it, that if it appears I was actuated by a tender affection for my country, I know my country will excuse the honest error.

When that momentous affair was considered in Congress, I was a member of that honourable body for this state. I thereby became a *trustee* for *Pennsylvania* immediately, and in some measure for the rest of America. The business related to the happiness of millions then in existence, and of more millions who were unborn. I felt the duty and endeavoured faithfully to discharge it.

Malice and envy must sigh and confess, that I was among the very first men on this continent, who by the open and decided steps we took staked our lives and fortunes on our country's cause. This was done at an æra of the greatest danger, as it was unknown how far we should be supported. In *this* point, no reserve, no caution was used by me ; and, tho' marked out by peculiar circumstances for the resentment and vengeance of our enemies, if they had succeeded, I frankly pledged *my all* for her freedom.

Thus far I had a right to go, whatever I ventured, for I was risking only *my own*. But when I came to deliberate on a point of the last importance to you and my other fellow citizens, and to your and their posterity, *then*, and not till then, I became guilty of reserve and caution — if it was guilt to be more concerned for you and them, than I had been for myself. For you and them I *freely* devoted myself to every hazard. For you and them I exerted *all my cares and labours*, that not one drop of blood should be unnecessarily drawn from American veins, nor one scene of misery needlessly introduced within American borders.

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My first objection to making the declaration of independence, *at the time when it was made*, arose from this consideration: It was acknowledged in the debate, that the first campaign would be decisive as to the final event of the controversy. I insisted that the declaration would not strengthen us by one man, or by the least supply — on the contrary, it might be construed to manifest such an aversion on our part, as might inflame the calamities of the contest, and expose our soldiers and inhabitants in general to additional cruelties and outrages — We ought not, without some prelusory trials of our strength, to commit our country upon an alternative, where, to recede *would be* infamy, and to persist *might be* destruction.

No instance was recollected of a people, without a battle fought or an ally gained, abrogating forever their connection with a great, rich, warlike, commercial empire, whose wealth or connections had always procured allies when wanted, and bringing the matter finally to a prosperous conclusion.

It was informing our enemies what was the ultimate object of our arms, which ought to be concealed until we had consulted other powers, and were better prepared for resistance — It would too soon confirm the charges of those in Great Britain who were most hostile to us, and too early contradict the defences made by those who were most friendly toward us. It might therefore unite the different parties there against us, without our gaining anything in counterbalance. — And it might occasion disunion among ourselves, and thus weaken us.

With other powers, it might rather injure than avail us — There was a certain weight and dignity in such movements, when they appeared to be regulated by prudence, that would be lost, if they were attributed to the emotions of passion. If politicians should be induced to ascribe the measure to the violence of this dictator, we might be deprived in their judgment of the merit of what they thought we had well done before, and of a just credit with them in future for our real force and fixed intentions — How such a judgment would operate was obvious.

Foreign aid would not be obtained by the declaration, but by our actions in the field, which were the only evidences of our union and vigour that would be respected, — and by the sentiments statesmen should form upon the relative consequences of the dispute. This opinion was confirmed by many similar instances particularly in the war between the United Provinces of the Low Countries and Spain, in which France

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and England assisted the former, before they declared themselves independent, which they did not do till the *ninth* year of the war. If it was the interest of any European kingdom or state to aid us, we should be aided without such a declaration. If it was not we should not be aided with it. — On the sixth day of July, 1775, a *year* within two days *before* the declaration, Congress assured the people of America in an address, that, “*Foreign assistance was UNDOUBTEDLY attainable.*” *FACTS SUBSEQUENT TO THAT DATE, WITH WHICH EVERY MEMBER WAS ACQUAINTED IT WAS NEEDLESS TO MENTION.*

We ought to know the dispositions of the great powers, before such an irrevocable step should be taken; and, if they did not generally chuse to interfere, how far they would permit any one or more of them to interfere. The erection of an Independent Empire on this continent was a phænomenon in the world — Its effects would be immense, and might vibrate round the globe — How they might affect, or be supposed to affect old establishments, was not ascertained — It was singularly disrespectful to France, to make the declaration before her sense was known, as we had sent an agent expressly to enquire, “whether such a declaration would be acceptable to her;” and we had reason to believe he was then arrived at the court of Versailles — Such precipitation might be unsuitable to the circumstances of that kingdom, and inconvenient — The measure ought to be delayed, till the common interests should be in the best manner consulted, by common consent. Besides, the door to accommodation with Great Britain ought not to be shut, until we knew what terms could be obtained from some competent power — Thus to break with her, before we had compacted with another, was to make experiments on the lives and liberties of my countrymen, which I would sooner die than agree to make; at best, it was to throw us into the hands of some other power, and to lie at mercy; for we should have passed the river, that was never to be repassed — If treated with some regard, we might yet be obliged to receive a disagreeable law tacked to a necessary aid. This was not the plan we should pursue. We ought to retain the declaration, and remain as much masters as possible of our own fame and fate — We ought to inform that power, that we were filled with a just detestation of our oppressors; that we were determined to cast off for ever all subjection to them; to declare ourselves independent; and to support that declaration with our lives and fortunes — provided that power should

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approve the proceeding; would acknowledge our independence, and enter into a treaty with us upon equitable and advantageous conditions.

True it is, that we have happily succeeded, without observing these precautions; and let my enemies triumph in this concession, when they shall have produced an example from history to equal the justice, wisdom, benevolence, magnanimity, and good faith, displayed by his most christian majesty, in his conduct towards us. Till then, at least, let me be pardoned for having doubted — whether there was such a monarch upon earth.

Other objections to making the declaration, *at the time when it was made*, were suggested by our internal circumstances. To me it seemed, that, in the nature of things, the formation of our governments, and an agreement upon the terms of our confederation, ought to precede the assumption of our station among sovereigns. A sovereignty, composed of several distinct bodies of men, not subject to established constitutions and those bodies not combined together by the sanction of any confirmed articles of union, was such a sovereignty as had never appeared. These particulars would not be unobserved by foreign kingdoms and states, and they would wait for other proofs of political energy, before they would treat us with the desired attention.

With respect to ourselves, the consideration was still more serious.

The forming of our governments was a new and difficult work. They ought to be rendered as generally satisfactory to the people as possible — When this was done, and the people perceived that they and their posterity were to live under well regulated constitutions, they would be encouraged to look forward to confederation and independence, as completing the noble system of their political happiness — The objects nearest to them were *now* enveloped in clouds, and therefore those more distant must appear confused. That they were independent, they would know; but the relation one citizen was to bear to another, and the connection one state was to have with another, they did not, could not know. Mankind were naturally attached to plans of government, that promised quiet and security under them. — General satisfaction with them, when formed, would be indeed a great point attained; but persons of reflection would perhaps think it absolutely necessary, that Congress should institute some mode for preserving them from the misfortune of future discords.

The confederation ought to be settled before the declaration of inde-

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pendence. Foreigners would think it most regular — The weaker states would not be in so much danger of having disadvantageous terms imposed upon them by the stronger — If the declaration was first made, political necessities might urge on the acceptance of conditions, that were highly disagreeable to parts of the union. The present comparative circumstances of the states were now tolerably well understood ; but some states had very extraordinary claims to territory, that if admitted in a future confederation, as they might be, the terms of it not yet being adjusted all idea of the present comparison between them would be confounded — Those states, whose boundaries were acknowledged, would find themselves sink in proportion to the elevation of their neighbours. Besides, the unlocated lands, not comprehended within acknowledged boundaries, were deemed a fund sufficient to defray a vast part, if not the whole, of the expences of the war. These ought to be considered as the property of all of the states, acquired by the arms of all. For these reasons the boundaries of the states ought to be fixed before the declaration, and their respective rights mutually guaranteed ; and the unlocated lands ought also previous to that declaration to be solemnly appropriated to the benefit of all the states : for it might be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to obtain these decisions afterwards. Upon the whole, when things should be thus deliberately rendered firm at home, and favourable abroad, then let America

“ Attolens bumeris FAMAM, et FATA nepotum,”

advance with majestic steps, and assume her station among the sovereigns of the world.

Thus to have thought, and thus to have spoke, was my offence, gentlemen, on the subject of independence. Do you condemn me for thinking as I did, or for speaking as I thought ? Could the former be a crime ? and was not the latter a duty ? What title of infamy would have been adequate to my guilt, if, entertaining the sentiments I did, and entrusted as I was, any consideration could have prevailed upon me to suppress those sentiments on a point of such eventful moment to my country ? Was I by her placed in Congress, to re-echo the words of others, or to exercise my judgment and obey my conscience, in deciding upon the common welfare ?

A powerful consideration was not wanting, to tempt me into a swerving from the rule ever prescribed to myself — that of regarding the general good with singleness of heart.

It was my misfortune to have acquired some share of reputation ; for

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the injuries done my country have occasioned it. Her love I valued as I ought, but not as much as I valued herself. I knew, and told Congress, that I was acting an unpopular part in the debate upon the declaration; and I desired that illustrious assembly to witness the integrity, if not the policy of my conduct.

What other motive can you suspect I had for this behaviour? Compare it with my preceding and following actions. Though I spoke my sentiment freely, as an honest man ought to do, yet, when a determination was made upon the question against my opinion, I received that determination as the sacred voice of my country, as a voice that proclaimed her destiny, in which, by every impulse of my soul, I was resolved to share, and to stand or fall with her in that plan of freedom which she had chosen. From that moment, it became my determination; and I cheerfully contributed my endeavours for its perpetual establishment.

Have you forgot, gentlemen, this remarkable circumstance, that within a few days, to the best of my remembrance, within a week, *AFTER the declaration of independence*, I was the *only*¹⁸⁶ member of Congress that marched with my regiment to Elizabeth Town against our enemies, then invading the state of New York, and continued in actual service there, daily in sight of them, every moment exposed, and frequently expecting upon intelligence received to be attacked, during the whole tour of duty performed by the militia of this city and neighbourhood.

Be pleased to decide, what was my motive for this conduct. Be pleased also to consider what is the reason, why none of your writers, in the multitude of their publications against me, have ever mentioned, or even given the least hint of this fact. Don't you really believe, that, if it was thought by them only a trifling circumstance in my favour, they would have taken some notice of it, and, with one of their witty turns, have consigned it over to contempt? Don't you really believe, it was thought by them a strong proof of my devotion to the *independence* of America, when once it became the *resolution* of America — a proof which they wish never to be remembered in Pennsylvania — and a clear demonstration that all my arguments, concerning *the time* of making the declaration, were in my judgement and conscience done away, and were of no more use, *after it was made*, than the rubbish caused in erecting a palace?

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Reasons that were proper in a *debate*, were useless after a *decision*; and the nature of *these* evinces that they opposed only *the time of the declaration*, and not *independence itself*.

That event has proved, that the national council was right; and may others learn, by my instance, to venerate the wisdom collected in that august body, as they ought to do. There is a light in that constellation, sufficient to direct the vessel freighted with the fortunes of America, through the tempestuous ocean upon which she sails, safe, in the wish'd for port — if the people will but be guided by it.

Is it an incredible thing with you gentlemen, that a man might desire the declaration to be deferred, and yet heartily maintain it after it was made! If so, what do you think of those men, who opposed the declaration in Congress as earnestly as I did, and now hold the highest posts under the United States, or some of them, are possessed of their utmost confidence, and discharge their respective duties with distinguished honour to themselves and advantage to America? What do you think of numbers of brave officers in our army, who wished the declaration to be deferred, and yet, from the instant it was made, and ever since have, under a load of difficulties, traversed different regions of this continent, freely to proffer their blood for its support?



Notes to Text

Notes to Text

CHAPTER I

¹ See *Life of George Washington*.

² See p. 9.

³ Georgia only was unrepresented. See note 60, chapter II.

⁴ He signed the Declaration on parchment now in the Department of State.

⁵ Galloway says of him (See *Historical and Political Reflections on the Rise and Progress of the American Rebellion*, London, 1780) that he "eats little, drinks little, sleeps little, thinks much, and is most decisive and indefatigable in the pursuit of his objects." Jefferson is reported (See note 22, chapter VI) as saying (Also, see note 53, chapter IV): "For depth of purpose, zeal, and sagacity, no man in Congress exceeded, if any equalled, Sam Adams; and none did more to originate and sustain revolutionary measures in Congress. But he could not speak. He had a hesitating, grunting manner." John Adams, in his *Autobiography*, says (evidently of him) that "when he did speak, his sentiments were clear and pertinent and neatly expressed."

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Samuel and John Adams are compared by Jefferson, in a letter of 1819 to Wells, as follows: "[P] I can say that he [Samuel Adams] was truly a great man, wise in council, fertile in resources, immovable in his purposes . . . as a speaker he could not be compared with his living colleague and namesake [John

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Adams], whose deep conceptions, nervous style, and undaunted firmness made him truly our bulwark in debate. but m^r Samuel Adams, altho' not of fluent elocution, was so vigorously logical, so clear in his views, abundant in good sense, and master always of his subject that he commanded the most profound attention whenever he rose in an assembly by which the froth of declamation was heard with the most sovereign contempt." Also, see note 53, chapter IV.

⁶ See latter part of note 5, *supra*.

⁷ See note 38, chapter VIII.

⁸ John Adams, in his *Diary*, says: "He is between fifty and sixty, a solid, sensible man." He writes later of him: ". . . generally he stands upright, with his hands before him, the fingers of his left hand clenched into a fist, and the wrist of it grasped with his right. But he has a clear head and sound judgment; but when he moves a hand in anything like action, Hogarth's genius could not have invented a motion more opposite to grace; — it is stiffness and awkwardness itself, rigid as starched linen or Buckram; awkward as a junior bachelor or a sophomore."

⁹ "Duane", writes John Adams, in his *Diary*, "has a sly, surveying eye, a little squint-eyed; between forty and forty-five, I should guess . . . very sensible, I think, and very artful."

¹⁰ John Adams, in his *Diary*, says: "Mr. Jay is a young gentleman of the law, of about twenty-six."

¹¹ John Adams writes: "Phil. Livingston is a great, rough, rapid mortal. There is no holding any conversation with him. He blusters away . . ."

¹² See p. 140.

¹³ John Adams writes: "He is a plain man, tall, black, wears his hair, nothing elegant or genteel about him."

¹⁴ If we can credit John Adams, Rodney was "the oddest looking man in the world; he is tall, thin and slender as a reed, pale; his face is not bigger than a large apple, yet there is sense and fire, spirit, wit, and humor in his countenance."

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¹⁵ Dr. Benjamin Rush says: "[Rid] *W^m Paca*—a good tempered worthy Man, with a sound Understanding which he was too indolent to exercise. He therefore gave himself up to be directed both in his political Opinions & conduct by Sam^l Chase who had been the friend of his youth, & for whom he retained a regard in every Stage of his life. —"

¹⁶ Rush says: "[Rid] *Samuel Chase*—a bold declaimer with slender reasoning powers. His person & manner were very acceptable,—and to these, he owed much of his success in political life."

¹⁷ John Adams, in his *Autobiography*, under date of February 29, 1776, says: "He was represented to be a kind of *nexus utriusque mundi*, a corner stone in which the two walls of party met in Virginia. He was descended from one of the most ancient, wealthy, and respectable families in the ancient dominion, and seemed to be set up in opposition to Mr. Richard Henry Lee." Also, see note 93, chapter IX.

¹⁸ After one of the debates of this Congress, John Adams speaks of him as "a perfect Bob-o-Lincoln,—a swallow, a sparrow, a peacock; excessively vain, excessively weak, and excessively variable and unsteady; jejeune, inane, and puerile." In 1775, he writes: "Rutledge is a very uncouth and ungraceful speaker; he shrugs his shoulders, distorts his body, nods and wriggles with his head, and looks about from side to side, and speaks through his nose, as the Yankees sing. His brother John dodges his head too, rather disagreeably, and both of them spout out their language in a rough and rapid torrent, but without much force or effect."

¹⁹ John Adams writes: "He is a solid, firm, judicious man."

²⁰ John Adams describes him as "a tall, spare man . . . a gentleman of fine talents, of amiable manners and great worth . . . he is a masterly man." Also, see note 17, *supra*, and note 4, chapter IV.

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²¹ This seems strange ; for, as stated, he appears to have been in Philadelphia for some days : see p. 5.

²² See p. 140.

²³ John Adams writes : " Alsop is a merchant, of a good heart, but unequal to the trust in point of abilities, Mr. Scott thinks." After he himself met Alsop, he described him as "a soft, sweet man."

²⁴ John Adams writes : " Mr. Dickinson has been subject to hectic complaints. He is a shadow ; tall, but slender as a reed ; pale as ashes ; one would think at first sight that he could not live a month ; yet, upon more attentive inspection, he looks as if the springs of life were strong enough to last many years."

²⁵ On account of indisposition, he was superseded, October 22d, by Middleton.

²⁶ See note 6, chapter IV.

²⁷ See *Sketches of the Life and Character of Patrick Henry*. The statement seems scarcely supported by what were Henry's later (though, perhaps, more deeply considered) views (See note 77, chapter III), following the receipt of a letter (See note 4, chapter IV) from R. H. Lee. See also a letter from Madison to Jared Sparks dated January 5, 1828, in *Letters and other Writings of James Madison*, etc.

²⁸ See *Traditions and Reminiscences chiefly of the American Revolution in the South*, etc., (1851).

CHAPTER II

¹ Timothy Dwight, in *Travels ; in New-England and New York* (1821), says : ". . . in the month of July, 1775, I urged, in conversation with several Gentlemen of great respectability, firm Whigs, and my intimate friends, the importance, and even the necessity of a declaration of independence . . . and alleged

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for this measure the very same arguments, which afterwards were generally considered as decisive; but found them disposed to give me, and my arguments, a hostile, and contemptuous, instead of a cordial, reception . . . These gentlemen may be considered as representatives of the great body of thinking men in this country. A few may perhaps be excepted; but none of these durst at any time openly declare their opinions to the public."

Jay writes, to George Alexander Otis, January 13, 1821: "[NE¹] During the course of my Life, and until after the second Petition of congress (in 1775), I never did hear any American, of any class, or of any Description, express a wish for the Independence of the colonies . . . It has always been, and still is, my Opinion and Belief, that our country was prompted and impelled to Independence by necessity and not by choice."

John Adams writes, also to Otis, February 9th of the same year: "[NE¹] I cannot refrain from the pleasure I have received from the reasoning of Mr. Jay, upon the passage from Botta [See note 24, chapter IV] — 'That antierior to the Revolution there existed in the Colonies a desire of Independence.' There is great ambiguity in the expression, there existed in the Colonies a desire of Independence — it is true there always existed in the Colonies a desire of Independence of Parliament, in the articles of internal Taxation, and Internal policy . . . but there never existed a desire of Independence of the Crown, or of general regulations of Commerce, for the equal and impartial benefit of all parts of the Empire. — It is true there might be times and circumstances in which an Individual, or few Individuals, might entertain and express a wish that America was Independent in all respects, but these were 'rari nantes in gurgite vasto.' . . . That there existed a general desire of Independence of the Colonies in any part of America before the Revolution, is as far from the truth, as the Zenith is from the Nadir."

² Bartlett, at Philadelphia, writes thence to Langdon, January

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13, 1776: "[BT] This morning I see in the newspaper, (which by the way is almost the only way I hear from our Colony) that Portsmouth has appointed Mess^{rs} Cutts Sherburne and Long, to represent that town in Provincial Convention, and by the instructions I find the town is very much affraid of the idea Conveyed by the frightful word *Independence*! This week a pamphlet on that subject was printed here, and greedily bought up and read by all ranks of people—I shall send you one of them which you will please to lend round to the people; perhaps on Consideration there may not appear any thing so terrible in that thought as they may at first apprehend if Britain should force us to break off all Connections with her."

For Samuel Adams' comment on these instructions, see his letter to John Adams of January 19, 1776, in *The Life and Works of John Adams*.

³ The action of the *Provincial Congress* may be found at p. 41.

⁴ Taken from *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (N) of March 1, 1775.

⁵ Taken from *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (N) of February 22, 1775.

⁶ Josiah Quincy, Jr., however, writes, from London, November 27, 1774 (See *Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy, Junior*, etc.): "Dr. Franklin is an American in heart and soul. You may trust him: his ideas are not contracted within the narrow limits of exemption from taxes, but are extended upon the broad scale of total emancipation."

For Franklin's letters of May 16th and December 9th (1775), see p. 33.

On July 23d (1775), John Adams writes to his wife: "[Ad] Dr. Franklin . . . thinks us at present in an odd state, neither in peace nor war, neither dependent nor independent; but he thinks that we shall soon assume a character more decisive. He thinks that we have the power of preserving ourselves; and that even if we should be driven to the disagreeable necessity of

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assuming a total independency, and set up a separate state, we can maintain it."

⁷ For his letter of May 7th, see p. 33.

⁸ Many Englishmen even recognized the folly of the measures adopted by their country. A letter from London dated March 10th says: "Our political madness is still in its zenith, and we are consequently taking the most effectual measures that the wit or folly of man can devise to render America totally independent of this Country." Indeed, Rush writes, under the heading "[Rid] 1785 Conversations with D^r Franklin": "Dined with the D^r wth D^r Ramsay — M^r, Rittinhouse &c . . . He said in 1756. when he went to England he had a long conversation with M^r Pratt — (afterwards Lord Camden) who told him that Britain would drive the Colonies to Independance. This he said first led him to realise its occurring shortly."

⁹ The date of the *Raleigh* (North Carolina) *Register* from which this was taken is April 30, 1819. M. O. Sherill, Librarian of the Library Department of North Carolina, writes us, under date of November 20, 1899, that there is a copy in the Library Department at Raleigh.

¹⁰ Joseph Gales was the printer; and he evidently is meant.

¹¹ The "following document" *itself* (which had "lately come in the hands of the editor") is stated later (See p. 22) to have been "a . . . copy of the papers . . . left in my [J. M'Knitt's: Dr. Joseph M'Knitte Alexander's, see note 18, *post*] hands by [and evidently in the handwriting of] John Matthew [John M'Knitte: see note 14, *post*] Alexander, deceased." (See, however, note 16, *post*.)

No one is now able to locate, as we understand, either the "copy" (which was very likely destroyed by the "editor") or the "papers" left in the hands of Dr. Joseph M'Knitte Alexander from which it is stated to have been copied.

#

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See note 29, *post*.

¹² This is not material.

¹³ These brackets are, of course, in the *Essex Register*.

¹⁴ Sherill says also that "Matthew" is "M'Knitte" in the *Raleigh Register*.

¹⁵ In *The Declaration of Independence by the Citizens of Mecklenburg County, etc., Published by the Governor, Under the authority and direction of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina* (1831) (C and N) is a foot-note which says: "This copy the writer well recollects to have seen in the possession of Doct. Williamson, in the year 1793, in Fayetteville, together with a letter to him from John McNitt Alexander, and to have conversed with him on the subject." (It will be remembered that *John M'Knitte Alexander* writes—See p. 32—that this copy "was forwarded to him [Williamson] by Col. Wm. Polk.") (A statement from Polk himself as to "the words of the Committee" is given in note 29, *post*.)

If, as thus appears to be the fact, this copy sent to Williamson was made before the "records and papers were burnt" (See p. 32), it is much to be regretted that it has not been located, or that "the writer" did not make a copy of it, in 1793.

(*The History of North Carolina* by Dr. Hugh Williamson was published in 1812.)

#

It is claimed that Francois-Xavier Martin procured a copy of the original record before it was destroyed by fire, and that this appears in *The History of North Carolina*, etc. This claim is based upon the statement (repeated, it seems, in an address at Charlotte, May 20, 1857) of Rev. Francis L. Hawks in an address to the New York Historical Society, December 16, 1853 (See "The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," etc., in *Revolutionary History of North Carolina*, compiled by William D. Cooke): "Judge Martin obtained them [the resolves] in

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manuscript, from the western part of North Carolina, and procured them as he did most of his other materials, before the year 1800 . . . I knew him intimately, and had known him from my childhood and I conversed with him touching these and other events in our history; for, partly at his suggestion, I had undertaken to prepare a history of North Carolina myself. Many of his original materials had been lost, for in the latter years of his life he was blind." (Hawks claims that the resolves as given by Martin are Ephriam Brevard's *rough* draft.) Martin himself, in his *Preface*, dated "Gentilly, near New Orleans, July 20, 1829", says: "The writer . . . had arranged all those [materials] that related to transactions, anterior to the declaration of independence, when, in 1809, Mr. Madison thought his services were wanted, first in the Mississippi territory and afterwards in that of Orleans . . . The public prints stated, that a gentleman of known industry and great talents, who has filled a very high place in North Carolina, was engaged in a similar work; but several years have elapsed since, and nothing favors the belief, that the hopes which he had excited, will soon be realized. This gentleman had made application for the materials now published, and they would have been forwarded to him, if they had been useful to any but him who had collected them. In their circuitous way from Newbern to New-York and New-Orleans, the sea water found its way to them: since their arrival, the mice, worms, and the variety of insects of a humid and warm climate, have made great ravages among them. The ink of several very ancient documents has grown so pale, as to render them nearly illegible; and notes hastily taken on the journey, are in so cramped a hand, that they are not to be deciphered by any person but him who made them. The determination has been taken to put the work immediately to press, in the condition it was when it reached New-Orleans: this has prevented any use being made of Williamson's History of North Carolina, a copy of which did not reach the writer's hands until after his arrival in

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Louisiana." The resolves appear in the last chapter of the second (and last) volume; and the six pages (almost) which treat of Mecklenburg County matters give a slight indication, it may be, of having been set up distinct from the balance of the chapter. The resolves are a more or less polished version of the resolves as given in the *Essex Register*, together with the additional resolve: "Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted, by express, to the president of the continental congress, assembled in Philadelphia, to be laid before that body." It seems to us that Hawks' "1800" is a mistake, or a misprint for "1809". Indeed, is it not apparent from Hawks' own language that he is merely giving Martin's *Preface*? Indeed, also, it must be remembered that Hawks himself says: "In consenting to the preservation of the following lecture in a permanent form, the author owes it to himself to say, that it was prepared on a very short notice, and indeed, in such intervals of leisure as could be snatched from the duties of two days only." Hawks does not attempt to say *where* Martin "procured them".

#

It also is claimed that Alexander Garden procured a copy of the original record before it was destroyed by fire, and that this appears in *Anecdotes of the American Revolution* published in Charleston, S. C., in 1828. This claim is based upon the fact that the resolves as given by him are the same (essentially) as those given by Martin and upon the reasoning that Garden could not have gotten them from Martin because Garden's *Anecdotes*, etc., was published first.

May not Martin have sent a copy to Garden, previous to 1828, or may not *Martin* have taken the resolves from *Garden's Anecdotes*, etc., of 1828 (for convenience, if for no other reason) and the remainder of his information from the *Raleigh Register* or gotten it from Garden by letter or from Dr. Joseph M'Knitte Alexander or Archibald Debow Murphy (See note 29, *post*)?

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Certainly, Garden's first publication, in 1822, does not mention the resolves. Certainly, also, Garden's *Anecdotes*, etc., published in 1828 says: "The *Subscription Lists* have been handed in so slowly, that it might appear invidious to print one that would be imperfect. Upwards of seven hundred names are in possession, but many more are expected from parts of the country where it is probable this work will be most in circulation. Yet, should they speedily arrive, they shall be immediately published."

##

Dr. J. B. Alexander in *The History of Mecklenburg County* (1902) quotes the resolves from Martin.

¹⁶ In *The Declaration*, etc., (See note 15, *supra*) is a certificate of Samuel Henderson, dated Mecklenburg County, November 25, 1830, which says: ". . . the paper annexed was obtained by me from Maj. William R. Davie, in its present situation, soon after the death [November 8, 1820] of his father, Gen. William R. Davie, and given to Doct. Joseph M'Knitt by me. In searching for some particular paper, I came across this, and, knowing the handwriting of John M'Knitt Alexander, took it up, and examined it. Maj. Davie said to me (when asked how it became torn) his sisters had torn it, not knowing what it was"; also a foot-note which says: "To this certificate of Doct. Henderson is annexed the copy of the paper A, originally deposited by John M'Knitt Alexander in the hands of Gen. Davie . . . This paper is somewhat torn, but it is entirely legible . . ."; and also: "Gen. Davie died shortly after the date of Mr. Jefferson's letter [See p. 24]; but this identical copy, known by the writer of these remarks to be in the handwriting of John M'Nitt Alexander . . . is now in the Executive Office of this State."

The "paper A" consists merely of resolves (essentially) as given in the *Essex Register*.

See p. 32.

#

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In *The Declaration*, etc., there is also what purports to be an "Extract from the Memoir of the late Rev. Humphrey Hunter", which contains a copy of resolves likewise (essentially) as given in the *Essex Register*. It says, in a note: "The foregoing extract is copied from a manuscript account of the Revolutionary War in the South, addressed by the writer to a friend, who had requested historical information upon the subject." We regret that the date of the "manuscript account" is not given. The extract itself says: "The following were selected, and styled Delegates, and are here given, according to my best recollection . . . On that memorable day, I was 20 years and 14 days of age, a very deeply interested spectator . . ."

¹⁷ Sherill says also that "Davies" is "Davie" in the *Raleigh Register*.

¹⁸ Sherill says also that "M'Knitt" is "M'Knitte" in the *Raleigh Register*. Also, William A. Graham (See note 39, *post*) says that Dr. Joseph M'Knitte *Alexander* (who is stated to have been a son of John M'Knitte Alexander, who is stated to have died in 1817) often signed himself simply "Joseph M'Knitte".

¹⁹ See p. 90.

²⁰ Of this, there can be no doubt.

²¹ He was the editor of the *Richmond Enquirer*.

²² See note 18, *supra*, and note 29, *post*.

²³ See p. 18.

²⁴ He arrived in Halifax, April 15, 1776, and did not return to Congress until after July 4th: see p. 83 and note 51, chapter IX, respectively.

#

His letter (See p. 8) of April 26, 1774, to Iredell (See p. 85) is given in full in *A Defence of the Revolutionary History of the State of North Carolina from the Aspersions of Mr. Jefferson* by Jo. Seawell Jones (1834). See also p. 80 *et seq.*

²⁵ He was *not* a Delegate in 1776: see note 65, *post*.

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²⁶ He first appeared in Congress, October 12, 1775: see note 65, *post*. It seems likely, however, that Jefferson here refers to Penn's return, after an absence with Hooper, just before July 4, 1776: see p. 83 and note 51, chapter IX.

²⁷ It will, however, be remembered that Jefferson appeared in Congress for the first time, June 21, 1775.

²⁸ Taken from *The Declaration*, etc., (See note 15, *supra*).

²⁹ These may be found in *The Declaration*, etc., (See note 15, *supra*), and in Force's *American Archives*, ser. 4, vol. 2, p. 855.

#

Under date of August 18, 1819, and, therefore, six months before they were printed in the *Raleigh Register*, Polk wrote, as would appear from what seem to be the originals now in the New York Public Library (Lenox), from Raleigh to "[N] A[rchibald]. D[ebow]. Murphy" (who was then in the Senate of North Carolina and who, William A. Graham says, was about to write a history when he died suddenly) and enclosed a copy (essentially) of what had first appeared in the *Raleigh Register* (bearing also "J M^cK Alexander Sen" immediately preceding the certificate at the end) as well as a statement from his own pen.

The letter says: "It has not been in my power to bestow as much time on the subjects mentioned in your memorandum of the 16th ult. as I would have wished . . ."

The copy enclosed (which appears to us to be in the same hand as the letter and statement) has at the top of the first page: "[N] Copy of Jo. M^c K. Alexanders letter to Wm. Davidson on Declaration of Independence Meck^l", and, on the back of the last page: "Copy of Letter to Wm Davidson at Congress with the declaration of Independence by the C of Mecklenberg May 20, 1775".

Polk's statement, which, in general, is merely an amplification of the subject-matter of Alexander's, embraces resolves which are the same (essentially, but without a number of words, among

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them "and inalienable", etc.) as those given in the *Essex Register*, together with the additional resolve: "[N] Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions, be adopted and are so accordingly done unanimously, & that the Delegates sign their names to the same." and also the following: "The Resolution of the Mecklenburg Delegacy, is taken from a manuscript copy given by Doctor Jos. McKnitt Alexander of Mecklenburg—I cannot vouch for their being in the words of the Committee who framed them, but they are essentially so . . . At the time this meeting took place & for years before & after my father Thomas Polk was the most popular man in the County . . . and it was almost altogether attributed to him, the course that was taken by the people of that County . . ."

⁸⁰ See note 15, *supra*. The report, as shown, may be found also in Force's *American Archives*, ser. 4, vol. 2, p. 855.

⁸¹ *The New-York Journal; or, the General Advertiser* (C) of June 29, 1775, also printed a *portion* of the resolves here given.

⁸² See the communication from Peter Force in the *Daily National Intelligencer* (C) of December 18, 1838. The copy of *The South-Carolina Gazette*, etc., in Charleston (See note 33, *post*) is stated to have been found there by Dr. Joseph Johnson in 1847 and another copy in England by Bancroft when he was Minister.

⁸³ Taken from the *facsimile* in the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet now in the New York Public Library (Lenox). Ellen M. FitzSimons, Librarian of the Charlestown Library Society, in Charleston, S. C., writes us, under date of December 18, 1901, that a copy of the paper containing resolutions of the 31st is there.

⁸⁴ It will be noticed that the resolutions as given in the *Essex Register* of June 5, 1819, *ante*, are dated May 20th.

⁸⁵ It will be seen, by comparison, how different these resolutions are from those given in the *Essex Register* of June 5, 1819, *ante*.

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⁸⁶ Neither this nor any of the following that is not given is material.

⁸⁷ The account as found in the *Essex Register* of June 5, 1819, *ante*, which purports to have been taken from the papers of John M'Knitte Alexander, says that *John M'Knitte Alexander was clerk*. See, however, in support of the above, p. 28.

⁸⁸ Looking at *Why North Carolinians believe in The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence of May 20th, 1775*, by Dr. George W. Graham and Alexander Graham (1895), we find a complete endorsement of the resolutions of the 20th, which it says appeared in the *Cape Fear Mercury*. The only copy existing of this, it says, was taken from the British State Paper Office by Andrew Stevenson, a friend of Jefferson, and never returned.

See also "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence May 20, 1775" by C. M. Wilcox in the *Magazine of American History* (C) for January, 1889, which takes the resolves evidently from the *Raleigh Register*.

‡

Indeed, *Collier's* (C) of July 1, 1905, gives what purports to be a *facsimile* of *The Cape Fear Mercury* of June 3, 1775, and says :

This copy of the "Mercury" was discovered among some papers of Andrew Stevenson, U. S. Minister to the Court of St. James's, and is probably the same copy that Gov. Josiah Martin sent to London in 1775, and that was removed from the British Foreign Office in 1837. The original (8¾ × 13¾ inches) is very frail and much foxed, so that it was with difficulty that a photograph of it could be made. The text in the first column reads as follows :

In conformity to an order issued by the Colonel of Mecklenburg County, in North Carolina, a Convention, vested with unlimited powers, met at Charlotte, in said County, on the Nineteenth day of May, 1775, when Abraham Alexander was chosen Chairman, and John McKnitt Alexander, Secretary. After a free and full discussion of the objects of the Convention, it was unanimously resolved,

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I. That whosoever, directly or indirectly, abetted, or in any way, form or manner, countenanced the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights, as claimed by Great Britain, is an enemy to this country, to America and to the inherent and inalienable rights of man.

II. Resolved, that we, the citizens of Mecklenburg County, do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us to the mother country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British Crown, and abjure all political connection, contract, or association with that nation, who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties, and inhumanly shed the innocent blood of American patriots at Lexington.

III. Resolved, that we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people, are and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing association under the control of no power other than that of our God and the general government of Congress; to the maintenance of which independence we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual cooperation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor.

J. M. ALEXANDER, Secretary. ABRAHAM ALEXANDER, Chairman.

[Hereafter follow the names of the twenty-three other signers.]

The accompanying article is by Dr. S. Millington Miller, who says: "I have prepared this article, and reproduced its original and hitherto unprocurable illustrations, to prove for good and all that there was a public assembly called at Charlotte, North Carolina, on May 19 and 20, 1775 . . ."

It is not stated where, when or under what circumstances *The Cape Fear Mercury* mentioned "was discovered among some papers of Andrew Stevenson".

See *The Daily News and Observer* (C) of July 2, 1905.

##

We know that, on August 8, 1775, Governor Martin issued a proclamation in which he said: "And whereas, I have also seen a most infamous publication in the *Cape-Fear Mercury*, importing to be Resolves of a set of people styling themselves a Committee for the County of Mecklenburgh, most traitorously

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declaring the entire dissolution of the Laws, Government, and Constitution of this Country, and setting up a system of rule and regulation repugnant to the laws, and subversive of His Majesty's Government . . ."

(It will be noted that the resolves as given in *The South-Carolina Gazette*, etc., were by the "Committee of this county".)

###

The True Origin and Source of the Mecklenburg and National Declaration of Independence (1847) by Rev. Thomas Smyth gives the resolves of *The South-Carolina Gazette*, etc., as of the 30th.

⁸⁹ This would seem to have been the view taken by Bancroft (See *The History of the United States of America*, etc.), though his language is not very explicit. See also "The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, May 20, 1775" by James C. Welling in *The North American Review* (C) for April, 1874; "The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence President Welling's reply to General Wilcox" in the *Magazine of American History* (C) for March, 1889; and *The American Revolution* (1893) by John Fiske.

#

The Address of the Hon. Wm. A. Graham on the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence of the 20th of May, 1775, delivered at Charlotte, February 4, 1875, says: "The day is not at all material, in so small a difference in the dates."

⁴⁰ It might perhaps be asked, Why does not the report of the General Assembly contain the certificate attached to the "Davie copy"?

⁴¹ Taken from *The North-Carolina University Magazine* (N) for May, 1853.

James C. Welling, in the *Magazine of American History* (C) for March, 1889, says: "This full certificate was published for the first time, so far as I know, by the Rev. Prof. Charles Phillips, D. D., in an elaborate article contributed by him to the

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North Carolina University Magazine of May, 1853. When Prof Phillips wrote his article, the 'Davie copy' of the declaration had been placed in his hands by Governor Swain, then President of North Carolina University, who had temporarily removed the copy from the archives of the state department at Raleigh, that it might be subjected to a critical inspection. After making his transcript of it, Prof. Phillips returned the 'Davie copy' to Governor Swain. It is now reported to be lost or mislaid, but the authority of the certificate, as transcribed and published by Prof. Phillips, has never been questioned. I have private letters from him in which he confirms the textual accuracy of the certificate as given . . . in its integrity. His high personal character is a sufficient guarantee for his loyalty to truth in this matter. Moreover, as the document at the time of its publication was still in the custody of Governor Swain, it is impossible that a member of his faculty, writing with his full cognizance, could have published a falsification of the document without instantaneous detection and exposure."

#

The "Davie copy", as given in *The North-Carolina University Magazine*, consists of the resolves (proper) only, which, as there given, are the same (essentially) as those given in the *Essex Register*.

⁴² This view is taken by Henry S. Randall in *The Life of Thomas Jefferson* (1858) and by C. L. Hunter in *Sketches of Western North Carolina*, etc., (1877).

#

Hunter, among other things, says: "Since the publication of Governor Graham's pamphlet [See note 39, *supra*] shortly before the Centennial Celebration in Charlotte another copy of the Mecklenburg resolutions of the 20th of May, 1775, has been found in the possession of a grandson of Adam Brevard, now residing in Indiana. This copy has all the outward appearances

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of age, has been sacredly kept in the family, and is in a good state of preservation. Adam Brevard was a younger brother of Dr. Ephriam Brevard . . . This important and additional testimony, here slightly condensed, but facts not changed, is extracted from a communication in the *Southern Home*, by Dr. J. M. Davidson, of Florida, a man of great moral worth and high integrity, a grandson of Adam Brevard, a brother of Ephriam Brevard . . ."

We do not know why the name and address of the "grandson" in Indiana and a copy of the "copy" found in his possession were not given.

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Moncure Daniel Conway, in *The Life of Thomas Paine*, etc., says: "But the testimony is very strong in favor of two sets of resolutions."

⁴³ This view is taken by Johnson in *Traditions*, etc. See also *The Address*, etc., (See note 39, *supra*).

⁴⁴ For his letters of August 25th and November 29th, see pp. 18 and 19, respectively.

⁴⁵ See Washington's letter, p. 41.

⁴⁶ He arrived in America, May 5th. For his letter of March 22d, see p. 17.

⁴⁷ For fuller statement, see *The Life and Works of John Adams*, vol. 2, p. 410.

⁴⁸ Charles Francis Adams tells us: "[J] Dr. Benjamin Rush says of the author [John Adams], in a manuscript in the Editor's hands,— 'I saw this gentleman walk the streets of Philadelphia alone, after the publication of his intercepted letter in our newspapers, in 1775, an object of nearly universal scorn and detestation.'" Also, see note 3, chapter VI.

⁴⁹ Taken from *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, XII, 227.

⁵⁰ He signed the Declaration on parchment now in the Department of State.

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⁵¹ He was elected, December 5, 1774.

⁵² He was elected, January 25th.

⁵³ Willing and Wilson were elected, May 6th. John Adams describes the former as a "[J]udge . . . Mr. Willing is the most sociable, agreeable man of all." The other members of the delegation — leaving Franklin out of consideration — were the same as appeared in 1774, except Rhoads, who was left out at the election held, December 15, 1774.

See note 69, *post*.

⁵⁴ He was elected in December, 1774.

⁵⁵ He was elected by the Parish, March 21st. Also, see note 60, *post*.

⁵⁶ He was elected in December, 1774.

⁵⁷ As to his election, etc., see note 39, chapter IX.

⁵⁸ See p. 140.

⁵⁹ He was elected on March 27th "in the room of the Honourable Peyton Randolph, Esq., in case of the non-attendance of the said Peyton Randolph, Esq." Samuel Ward writes to his brother, Henry Ward, June 22d: "Yesterday the famous Mr. Jefferson . . . arrived. I have not been in company with him yet. He looks like a very sensible, spirited, fine Fellow, and by the pamphlet which he wrote last summer he certainly is one." (This letter is taken from a note to Ward's *Diary* as it is given in *The Magazine of American History*, N, for 1877. All quotations from his *Diary* are taken from the same source, and so also the letter given in note 23, chapter III.)

⁶⁰ As we have seen, Georgia was unrepresented in the *First* Continental Congress.

On July 20, 1775, however, as shown by the Journal, "a letter was . . . received from the Convention of Georgia & read setting forth that the Colony had assented to the general association [See p. 7] & appointed delegates to attend this Congress". The election had taken place on July 7th, when Bullock,

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Houston, Zubly, Noble Wimberly Jones and Lyman Hall were elected.

The Journal for September 13th shows only that, "Georgia having appointed delegates three of the said delegates attending their credentials were produced read and approved . . ." We ascertain who the "three" were from John Adams' *Diary*. It says: "[J] Archibald Bullock and John Houston, Esquires, and the Rev. Dr. Zubly appear as delegates from Georgia." On the 15th, Richard Smith writes in his *Diary*: "Two of the Georgia Delegates are possessed of Homespun Suits of Cloaths, an Adornment few other Members can boast of, besides my Bro^r Crane and myself." (This and all other quotations from the *Diary* of Smith are taken from it as it is given in *The American Historical Review*, N, I, 288. It is there stated that the original is in the possession of his great grandson, J. F. Coad of Charlotte Hall, Md., — which Coad confirms, by a letter to us — and that "The manuscript shows, by various indications, that it was copied, at some time later, but not much later, than April, 1776, from daily notes which had been taken in Philadelphia." The *Diary* itself, for December 15, 1775, says: ". . . for these Memoirs only contain what I could readily recollect.")

⁶¹ We have not been able to ascertain when he first attended Congress. He was chosen upon a committee, September 23d. See p. 140.

⁶² The Convention, on August 11th, voted their thanks to Pendleton and Henry, then present, and resolved that the "President be desired to transmit" their thanks by letter to Washington, for their services as Delegates. Washington had become Commander-in-Chief of the army and Henry Colonel of the First Regiment. Pendleton, "on account of the declining state of his health, entreated to be excused from the present nomination . . ."

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The Convention then proceeded to ballot for Delegates; and Randolph (89), R. H. Lee (88), Jefferson (85), Harrison (83) and Bland (61) were reelected, and Thomas Nelson, Jr., (66) and George Wythe (58) elected, for one year.

On the next day, Bland thanked the Convention for his election, but declined, as he was "an old man, almost deprived of sight"; and Francis Lightfoot Lee was immediately elected in his place.

John Adams, in his *Diary*, says: "[J] Nelson is a fat man . . . He is a speaker, and alert and lively for his weight." "[J] Wythe is a lawyer, it is said, of the first eminence." In September, he writes to his wife: "[Ad] Nelson, Wythe, and Lee are chosen, and are here in the stead of the other three [Henry, Pendleton and Bland]. Wythe and Lee are inoculated. You shall hear more about them. Although they come in the room of very good men, we have lost nothing by the change, I believe"; and, on October 19th: "[Ad] Wythe is a new member from Virginia, a lawyer of the highest eminence in that province, a learned and very laborious man . . ." In his *Autobiography*, under date of March 19, 1776, he tells us: "[J] Mr. Wythe was one of our best men . . ." He writes from Quincy to Richard Bland Lee, August 11, 1819: "[QyC] Francis Lightfoot Lee was a Man of great reading, well understood, of sound judgement and inflexible perseverance in the Cause of his attachment to his Country [.] "

⁶³ This extended from August 1st to September 5th.

⁶⁴ He was elected, August 23d — in the place of Sullivan, "now engaged with the Army". He produced his credentials in Congress, September 16th.

⁶⁵ On September 8th, "Mr. Caswell informed the [Provincial] Congress, as they had done him the honour of appointing him Treasurer of the Southern District of this Province, and one of the signers of the publick Bills of Credit, his attending those

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duties would render it entirely out of his power to attend the Continental Congress . . . he therefore requested this Congress would be pleased to appoint some other gentleman in his stead. Whereupon, it is Resolved, That John Penn, Esquire, be, and he is hereby appointed . . ." Penn appeared in Congress, October 12th.

⁶⁶ He was elected on the second Thursday of October.

⁶⁷ The Journal shows that on January 16, 1776, "The Colony of Con: having appointed new Del & the same attending produced the credentials of their app: . . ."

⁶⁸ See note 99, chapter IX.

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Titus Hosmer was the other alternate. He was first elected, November 3, 1774, and reelected on the second Thursday of October (1775).

⁶⁹ He was elected, November 4th — Ross and Mifflin of the old delegation (See note 53, *supra*) being left out. Galloway (See note 44, chapter IX), on May 12th, had been "excused from serving as a deputy". (As to Ross, see, however, p. 192.)

The Journal shows that on the 6th (of November), "The Assembly of Pensylvania having appointed new Delegates the sd delegates produced their credentials . . ."

⁷⁰ On December 9th, "The House [Convention] taking into consideration, that this Province, by means of the necessary attendance of some of its Deputies now in Convention, is at present unrepresented in Congress, directed the President to know of Mr. John Hall, whether it was convenient for him to attend in Congress; and Mr. Hall having signified that it was very inconvenient to him at this time, and that it was his wish, that some other gentleman might be appointed in his stead, and it being represented that Mr. Robert Goldsborough, through long indisposition is at present unable to attend that service, it is, therefore, Resolved, That . . . it is highly necessary that three

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Deputies from this Province do immediately attend in Congress . . . and that for this purpose, two gentlemen be now appointed, and added to the number of Deputies already chosen; and Robert Alexander and John Rogers, Esq., were elected by ballot."

The Journal shows that on December 21st, "The Convention of Maryland having added two new members to their delegates one of them attending produced the credentials of their appointment . . ."

The *Diary* of Richard Smith shows us that Rogers attended for the first time, December 21, 1775, and Alexander for the first time, January 2, 1776.

⁷¹ He was elected, December 15th, to fill the place of Randolph, who, as shown by the *Diary* of Ward, for October 22d, "About eight at night . . . died, having been ill but a few hours." See p. 96. (Rush writes: "[Rid]M^r Carter Braxton of Virginia speaking of New England in the Virginia Convention before the declaration of Independance said 'I abhor their manners—I abhor their laws—I abhor their governments—I abhor their religion[.]'" Also, see note 28, chapter IV.) On February 4, 1776, Nelson writes from Philadelphia to Jefferson: "[S] We expect Braxton every day & then I shall beat a march for a few Weeks." (The *Diary* of Richard Smith shows that Nelson was chosen upon a committee on February 17th.) Braxton took his seat, February 23d. He signed the Declaration on parchment now in the Department of State..

⁷² The *Diary* of Ward says: "Mr. Randolph going to the Assembly, Mr. Middleton was chosen (President); declined on account of his ill state of Health, and Mr. Hancock was chosen."

Allen, in *A History of the American Revolution*, etc., says: "Mr. Hancock was certainly not the man upon whom the unbiassed voice of the Congress would have fallen. He had been early enlisted in the cause of the people, by the superiour discernment of Mr. Samuel Adams, who foresaw that his large fortune would

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add respectability to the little band of patriots. His manners were agreeable, and his address prepossessing; but he had neither talents nor solidity sufficient to direct any affair of importance."

Gordon, in *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America*, speaks in general to the same effect: "When Mr. Hancock was first elected . . . it was expected that as soon as . . . [Randolph] repaired again to congress, the former would resign. Of this he was reminded by one of his Massachusetts brethren [probably Samuel Adams] when Mr. Randolph got back, but the charms of presidency made him deaf to the private advise of his colleague, and no one could with propriety move for his removal that the other might be restored. In the early stage of his presidency he acted upon republican principles; but afterward he inclined to the aristocracy of the New York delegates, connected himself with them, and became their favorite."

⁷³ *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, XIV, 342, contain, however, an "abstract of papers prepared . . . by Mr. Sainsbury, from the originals in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, in London:—'Nov. 1. Gov. Franklin to Lord Dartmouth . . . "Many of that body [Congress] for an entire separation, and publicly avow sentiments of independence. Dr. Church apprehended by Washington as a spy in his camp."'"

CHAPTER III

¹ See p. 90.

² For a letter of the 1st, see p. 71.

³ For Reed's letter, see p. 96.

⁴ See p. 13 (and note 2, chapter II) and note 49, chapter V. Langdon writes to Bartlett from Portsmouth, February 26th: "[NE] Things are pretty much in the same Situation as they

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were, at my last writing you,—not one word about *independence*, am ready to think he's gone out of Town, and those gentlemen who kept him Company while in Town, seem rather ashamed of them Selves —”

⁵ He was elected in the place of Cushing, who, John Adams (in his *Autobiography*) says, “[J] I believe declined.” (See p. 51.) See p. 211 and note 93, chapter IX. Also, John Adams, in a letter to his wife dated July 29, 1776, says: “[Ad] Gerry . . . is an old bachelor, and what is worse, a politician, and is worse still, a kind of soldier . . .” He signed the Declaration on parchment now in the Department of State.

⁶ See note 8, *post*.

⁷ See pp. 96 and 108.

⁸ A letter of Adams, to “[Qy] My dearest Friend [his wife]”, dated February 18, 1776, says: “I sent you from New York a Pamphlet entitled Common Sense . . . Reconciliation if practicable and Peace if attainable, you very well know would be as agreeable to my Inclinations and as advantageous to my Interest, as to any Man's — But I see no Prospect, no Probability, no Possibility.—”

⁹ This portion would seem to refer to the period previous to Gerry's election: see p. 42; Gerry's letters, which follow; and a letter of Adams, p. 211.

¹⁰ He was recalled to take charge of a regiment and left Philadelphia for South Carolina on January 18, 1776, while Adams was absent and many months before the subject of declaring independence came (directly) before Congress.

¹¹ He was one of the commissioners to Canada, appointed, February 15th, and left Philadelphia in the latter part of March. He did not return to Philadelphia until the morning of June 11th, after the postponement of the resolution respecting independence, and departed thence for Maryland soon after and did not return until July 17th.

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¹² He left Congress evidently before the subject of declaring independence came (directly) before that body: see p. 128.

¹³ Gerry writes, May 1st: "I am glad you approve the proposal for instructions . . ." Warren was President of the House of Representatives.

¹⁴ Compare its wording with that of the letter of Hopkins (See notes 23 and 113, *post*; but see note 53, chapter IV) of April 8th, with that of the letter of Whipple of May 28th and with that of the letter of Bartlett of June 6th (See pp. 54, 132 and 132, respectively). (These three are the only letters we have found from Delegates in Congress to their respective Colonies written *previous* to the introduction of the initial resolution on June 7th *asking for instructions as to how to vote upon the question of independence*.) Compare its wording also with that of the letter of R. H. Lee of April 20th and with that of the letter of Jefferson of May 17th (See note 4, chapter IV, and note 27, chapter VI, respectively). See also *New York*, chapter VIII.

¹⁵ Cooper answers: "[W] The people here almost universally agree with you in your political sentiments."

¹⁶ It may have been these letters which brought forth Gerry's letter of March 26th to Warren.

¹⁷ Taken from *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (N), XIII, 232, where it is published as a communication from J. Gardner White.

¹⁸ Also, see Samuel Adams' letter to Hawley, p. 46; Cooper's letter, note 15, *supra*; and Gerry's letter to Warren, note 13, *supra*.

¹⁹ For his answer, see note 41, *post*.

²⁰ See p. 41.

²¹ Boston, on May 23d, declared: "A reconciliation . . . appears to us to be as dangerous as it is absurd . . . The inhabitants of this town, therefore unanimously instruct . . . you, that, at the approaching session of the general assembly, you use

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your endeavours that the delegates of this colony in Congress be advised, that in case the Congress shall think it necessary for the safety of the United Colonies, to declare them independent . . . the inhabitants of this colony, with their lives, and the remnant of their fortunes, will most cheerfully support them in that measure. Placing, however, unbounded confidence in . . . Congress, we are determined to wait, most patiently to wait, till their wisdom shall dictate the necessity of making a Declaration of Independence . . .”

The proceedings of Watertown and Walpole (May 20th), of New Salem (May 21st), of Malden (May 27th), of Brunswick (May 31st), of Taunton (June 3d), of Scituate (June 4th), of Wrentham (June 5th), of Hanover (June 6th), of Stockbridge and of Pittsfield, and doubtless of others, can be found in Force's *American Archives*. Those of Worcester (May) can be found in *Celebration by the Inhabitants of Worcester, Mass., of the Centennial Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence*. They are similar in spirit and unanimous.

²² In Force's *American Archives* can be found the proceedings of Alford and Norwich (June 7th), of Acton (June 14th), of Palmer, Bedford and Murrayfield (June 17th), of Leverett (June 18th), of Gageborough (June 19th), of Natick (June 20th), of Topsfield and Southampton (June 21st), of Williamstown (June 24th), of Northbridge (June 25th), of Tyngham (June 26th), of Sturbridge (June 27th), of Fitchburgh, Ashly and Greenwich (July 1st), of Winchendon (July 4th) and of Eastham, and perhaps of others.

“At a Town Meeting at Barnstable, June 25, 1776. The Question being put, agreeable to the Resolve of the General Court, Whether if the Continental Congress should judge expedient to declare the United Colonies Independent, they the inhabitants of the town of Barnstable would support the measure at the hazard of life and estate?—It passed in the Negative. Upon

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which a number of respectable inhabitants, whose names are under-written, judging such procedure would have a tendency to disunite the Colonies, and to injure the cause of their Country, did at said meeting publicly *Protest* against it, hoping thereby to avoid the imputation of acquiescence in so dishonorable a measure. Joseph Otis, Thomas Annable, Benjamin Smith, Zac's. Howland, Eben. Lothrop, Joseph Jenkins, Freeman Parker, Binna Baker, Nathan Bassett, Joseph Smith, David Smith, Job Howland, John Crocker. jun. James Davis, Nath. Howland." (Taken from *The American Gazette: or, Constitutional Journal*, Ex, of July 9, 1776.)

²³ Ward's physician, Young, writes, March 26th, to Henry Ward (See note 59, chapter II): "One, at least, of the mighty advocates for American Independency is fallen in Mr. Ward, to the great grief of the proto-patriot Adams."

Whipple writes, to Bartlett, March 28th: "[PD] I am just returning from attending the remains of our worthy Friend Gov: Ward to the place appointed for all the Humain race His better part took its flight to world of Spirits on Tuesday morning, this loss will be felt by Congress, and no doubt greatly laimented by the Colony he so faithfully represented . . ."

²⁴ This letter seems to have been lost or taken from the files. It was written, it will be noted, *over a month and a half before* the similar letter of Whipple (See p. 132). See note 14, *supra*.

²⁵ He must have arrived in Philadelphia, May 14th; for, on that day, the instructions were laid before Congress. John Adams calls him "[J] an excellent member"; and Hopkins, in a letter to the Governor, dated May 15th, says: "I am very glad you have given me a colleague, and am well pleased with the gentleman you have appointed." Also, see note 8, chapter IX. Ellery signed the Declaration on parchment now in the Department of State.

²⁶ See p. 78.

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²⁷ Sergeant and Cooper were substituted for Kinsey and Crane, at the election held, February 14th. We have been unable to find any mention of Cooper's attendance upon Congress. The *Diary* of Richard Smith for February 20th says: "M^r Crane went Home and M^r Sergeant attended in his Stead . . ." Both the Journal and this *Diary* show the appointment of William Livingston upon a committee on the same day. De Hart was appointed upon a committee on April 1st.

John Adams, in 1774, describes Sergeant as "[J] a young lawyer of Princeton . . . He is a young gentleman of about twenty-five, perhaps; very sociable . . ."

²⁸ See note 27, *supra*. William Livingston was still present on March 16th, as shown by the Journal and by the *Diary* of Richard Smith; but, on the 28th, as shown by this *Diary*, ". . . our Militia are marching to N York or Staten Isl^d under their Brigadiers Dickenson and W^m Livingston [.]"

²⁹ His *Diary* shows that, on March 31st, he "went Home to Burlington . . . having suffered in my Health by a close Attendance on Congress", having been there almost constantly since December 13, 1775.

³⁰ All attended: Livingston was chosen upon a committee on April 30th; as to De Hart, see note 7, chapter V; and as to Sergeant, see note 5, chapter V.

³¹ By an endorsement, it appears that Adams answered on the 15th.

³² The postscript is dated the 12th.

³³ By an endorsement, it appears that Adams answered on the 22d. (We know that Witherspoon was in Philadelphia on the 23d.)

³⁴ Also, see "An Address to the Natives of Scotland residing in America" in *The Essex Journal and New-Hampshire Packet* (C) of August 23, 1776. It appears as well in *The Works of John Witherspoon*.

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³⁵ Taken from *The Works of John Witherspoon*.

³⁶ See p. 47.

³⁷ Rodney writes, to Thomas Rodney, May 1st: "[PS] No News Except . . . that this day is like to produce as warm if not the warmest Election that ever was held in this City — The terms for the parties are — Whigg & Tory — dependance & Independence —"

In *Extracts from the Diary of Christopher Marshall* — a member of the Committee of Inspection and Observation of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia —, under date of April 21st, we find: "Many, I understand, were the private meetings of those called moderate men (or those who are for reconciliation with Great Britain upon the best terms she will give us, but by all means to be reconciled to or with her,) in order to consult and have such men carried for Burgesses at the Election (First of May) as will be sure to promote, to accept and adopt all such measures . . ."

³⁸ This and all other quotations from Marshall are taken from his *Diary* (See note 37, *supra*).

³⁹ See p. 105.

⁴⁰ See note 117, *post*, and note 28, chapter VIII.

⁴¹ Whipple writes, May 28th, to Meshech Weare: "[BT] It is probable the Proprietary Gov^{ts} will be the last to agree to this necessary step [declaring independence] — the disaffected in them, are now exerting themselves but their exertions are no more than the last struggle of expiring faction." John Adams writes, May 29th, to Benjamin Hichborn: "[J] The middle colonies have never tasted the bitter cup; they have never smarted, and are therefore a little cooler; but you will see that the colonies are united indissolubly. Maryland has passed a few eccentric resolves, but these are only flashes which will soon expire. The proprietary governments are not only encumbered with a large body of Quakers, but are embarrassed by a proprietary interest;

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both together clog their operations a little, but these clogs are falling off, as you will soon see." (For the letter to which this is a reply, see p. 52.)

⁴² For another portion of this letter, see p. 106.

⁴³ See note 37, *supra*.

⁴⁴ See p. 17.

⁴⁵ This was dated the 20th, the day of the meeting, and was signed by Daniel Roberdeau, as chairman.

⁴⁶ There was no quorum on the 20th; and, on the 21st also, though a quorum, nothing was done.

⁴⁷ See note 49, *post*, and p. 65.

⁴⁸ See note 49, *post*.

⁴⁹ Marshall says: "Past ten, went to meet Committee at Philosophical Hall, called by notices. Here was an Address to Congress concluded on, in answer to the Remonstrance that was, or is intended to be, sent from the Assembly, to counteract our proceedings last Second Day at the State House. This was to be delivered as soon as their Remonstrance was read in Congress. This paper or Remonstrance of their's was carried by numbers, two by two, into almost all parts of the town to be signed by all (tag, longtail and bob), and also sent into the country, and much promoted by the Quakers."

⁵⁰ On the 24th, an essay reported by the committee was referred to further consideration; and, on the 25th, nothing was done.

⁵¹ The 26th was Sunday; and, on the 27th, there was no quorum.

⁵² A copy was ordered, following its reading in Congress on the 25th, for Robert Morris, for presentation to the Assembly.

⁵³ It had appeared in *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* (T) of May 28th.

⁵⁴ On this day, R. H. Lee introduced his resolution (See p. 109)

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into *Congress*. Dickinson and Robert Morris were doubtless present, or certainly, at least, knew of it.

⁶⁵ For the continuation of the subject, see p. 187.

⁶⁶ Also, see p. 100.

⁶⁷ See note 20, chapter V. See also perhaps note 39, chapter V.

⁶⁸ Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, James Tilghman and William Hayward seem to have been present.

⁶⁹ Evidently those of January 11th, given in the text.

⁷⁰ Dickinson.

⁷¹ For another portion of this letter, see note 20, chapter V.

⁷² See p. 96.

⁷³ This was published, in Baltimore, by M. K. Goddard (See note 1, chapter XIII).

⁷⁴ Also, see note 38, chapter V.

⁷⁵ Adams, as we have seen, was absent from Philadelphia from December 9, 1775, to February 9, 1776. This conversation must in reality, therefore, have been later.

⁷⁶ To the same effect, see Penn's letter of April 17th, p. 83.

⁷⁷ A letter of the 13th, from Thomas Ludwell Lee, is given in note 103, chapter IX.

⁷⁸ On the same day, R. H. Lee wrote Henry: see note 4, chapter IV.

⁷⁹ These instructions were signed by a majority of the freeholders living in the County.

⁸⁰ One was Robert Carter Nicholas. See p. 72 and note 81, *post*.

⁸¹ Bancroft gives summaries of the instructions of Augusta County and of the inhabitants on the rivers Watanga and Holsten, also without date.

⁸² See note 4, chapter IV, note 27, chapter VI, *ibid.* and p. 93, respectively.

⁸³ Taken from *The Virginia Gazette* (C) of May 10th.

⁸⁴ A picture (?) may be found in "The Birth of the American

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Republic, Ninety-nine Years ago" by Nellie Hess Morris, *Potter's American Monthly*, N, for July, 1875.

⁷⁵ See note 71, chapter II.

⁷⁶ General Charles Lee was more hopeful — or, rather perhaps, less well informed. He writes, to Washington, on the 10th: "A noble spirit possesses the Convention. They are almost unanimous for independence, but differ in their sentiments about the mode; two days will decide it." (For his letter of the same day to R. H. Lee, see note 4, chapter IV. Also, see note 77, *post.*)

⁷⁷ Unfortunately, we have no expression, so far as we know, by Henry himself of his views *at this time*.

General Charles Lee writes *to* him, however, May 7th: "[Q] Since our conversation yesterday [the day the Convention met], my thoughts have been solely employed on the great question whether Independence ought or ought not to be immediately declared. Having weighed the argument on both sides, I am clearly of the opinion that we must, as we value the liberties of America, or even her existence, without a moment's delay declare for Independence. If my reasons appear weak, you will excuse them for the disinterestedness of the author, as I may venture to affirm, that no man on this Continent will sacrifice more than myself by the separation . . . The objection you made yesterday, if I understood you rightly, to an immediate Declaration, was, by many degrees, the most specious; indeed, it is the only tolerable one I have yet heard. You say, and with great justice, that we ought previously to have felt the pulse of France and Spain. I more than believe, I am almost confident, that it has been done . . . But admitting that we are utter strangers to their sentiments on the subject and that we run some risk of this Declaration being coldly received by these Powers, such is our situation that the risk must be ventured . . . Your idea, that they [the French] may be

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diverted . . . by an offer of partition by Great Britain, appears to me, if you will excuse the phrase, an absolute chimera . . . But there is another consideration still more cogent, I can assure you that the spirit of the people cries out for this Declaration; the military, in particular . . . I most devoutly pray, that you may not merely recommend, but positively lay injunctions, on your servants in Congress to embrace a measure so necessary to our salvation."

Also, see p. 182.

(See, however, note 79, *post.*)

Five days after the adoption of the resolution (See p. 78) by the Convention, he (Henry) writes—to R. H. Lee: "[Q] Your sentiments [See note 4, chapter IV] as to the necessary progress of this great affair correspond with mine. For may not France . . . be allured by the partition you mention? To anticipate therefore the efforts of the enemy by sending instantly American Ambassadors to France, seems to me absolutely necessary . . . But is not a confederacy of our states previously necessary?"

Similar views are found in a letter from him of the same date (May 20th) to John Adams: "[Qy] I put up with it [the resolution] in the present Form, for the sake of Unanimity. 'Tis not quite so pointed as I could wish . . . The Confederacy. That must precede an open Declaraⁿ of Independency & foreign Alliances."

⁷⁸ In this connection, see p. 182. (See also note 37, chapter IX.)

⁷⁹ William Wirt Henry—in *Patrick Henry*, etc., (1891)—says that "Among the papers of the Convention remaining in the Capitol are found three endorsed by the clerk, 'Rough Resolutions. Independence.'"

The first of these, *he* says, is in the handwriting of Henry and reads as follows:

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As the humble petitions of the continental Congress have been rejected and treated with contempt; as the parliament of G. B. so far from showing any disposition to redress our grievances, have lately passed an act approving of the ravages that have been committed upon our coasts, and obliging the unhappy men who shall be made captives to bear arms against their families, kindred, friends, and country; and after being plundered themselves, to become accomplices in plundering their brethren, a compulsion not practiced on prisoners of war except among pirates, the outlaws and enemies of human society. As they are not only making their preparation to crush us, which the internal strength of the nation and their alliance with foreign powers afford them, but are using their art to draw the savage Indians upon our frontiers, and are even encouraging insurrection among our slaves, many of whom are now actually in arms against us. And as the King of G. B. by a long series of oppressive acts has proven himself a tyrant instead of a protector of his people. We, the representatives of the colony of Virginia do declare, that we hold ourselves absolved of all allegiance to the crown of G. B. and obliged by the eternal laws of self-preservation to pursue such measures as may conduce to the good and happiness of the united colonies; and as a full declaration of Independency appears to us to be the only honorable means under Heaven of obtaining that happiness, and restoring us again to a tranquil and prosperous situation;

Resolved, That our delegates in Congress be enjoined in the strongest and most positive manner to exert their ability in procuring an immediate, clear, and full Declaration of Independency.

The second, he says, is in the handwriting of Meriwether Smith and reads:

Whereas Lord Dunmore hath assumed a power of suspending by proclamation the laws of this colony, which is supported by a late act of the British Parliament, declaring the colonies in North America to be in actual rebellion and out of the King's protection, confiscating our property wherever found on the water, legalizing their seizure, robbery and rapine, that their people have heretofore committed on us.

Resolved, That the government of this Colony as hitherto exercised under the crown of Great Britain be dissolved, and that a committee be appointed to prepare a Declaration of Rights, and such a Plan of Govern-

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ment, as shall be judged most proper to maintain Peace and Order in this colony, and secure substantial and equal liberty to the people.

The third, he says, is believed to be in the handwriting of Pendleton and declares :

Whereas the Parliament of Great Britain have usurped unlimited authority to bind the inhabitants of the American Colonies in all cases whatsoever, and the British Ministry have attempted to execute their many tyrannical acts in the most inhuman and cruel manner, and King George the third having withdrawn his protection from the said Colonies, jointly with the Ministry and Parliament, has begun and is now pursuing with the utmost violence a barbarous war against the said colonies, in violation of the civil and religious rights of the said colonies.

Resolved, that the union that hath hitherto subsisted between Great Britain and the American colonies is thereby totally dissolved, and that the inhabitants of this colony are discharged from any allegiance to the crown of Great Britain.

It would seem—in view of the letter of Thomas Ludwell Lee to R. H. Lee of May 18th (See note 86, *post*)—doubtful, however, whether the last *is* in Pendleton's handwriting.

Indeed, William Wirt Henry himself writes us, November 26, 1900, but nine days before his death: "I concluded on examining the papers that the first resolution on Independence in the Convention of '76 was that offered by General Nelson & in an enlarged hand which I concluded was that of Patrick Henry—I recognized the handwriting of Mr Smith—in another set of resolutions. The third set I was not certain of the handwriting. If offered by Pendleton, they doubtless were offered the first day. The next day, he brought in another set, made up of different parts of the resolutions discussed the first day—which were adopted. These rough resolutions are with the papers of the Convention of '76 in the State Library here in Richmond, Va."

⁸⁰ Compared with the original MS. by Moncure Daniel Con-

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way, in whose possession it then was. He writes us (in 1901): "There is nothing preceding the first sentence relating to it. Up to that point the history had been dealing with the whole country, but here returns to Virginia. There are no dates."

⁸¹ It so appears in the Journal of the Convention as given by Force in *American Archives* and in the reports in the newspapers of the day. Also, see note 86, *post*.

Edmund Randolph, however, writes (See note 80, *supra*): "The vote was unanimous for independence, except in the instance of Robert Carter Nicholas, who demonstrated his title to popularity by despising it when it demanded [See p. 74] a sacrifice of his judgment. He offered himself as a victim to conscience being dubious of the competency of America in so arduous a contest. He alone had fortitude enough to yield to his fears on this awful occasion, although there was reason to believe that he was not singular in their conception. But immediately after he had absolved his obligation of duty, he declared that he would rise or fall with his country, and proposed a plan for drawing forth all its energies in support of that very independence."

⁸² See pp. 57, 66 and 123; note 43, chapter V; and pp. 132 and 183.

The resolution appeared in *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* (N and T) of May 28th — immediately following that of April 12th of North Carolina; in *Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser* (N) of June 3d; in *The Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal* (C) — published in Watertown, Mass. — of June 24th; and in *The American Gazette, etc.*, (Ex) — published in Salem, Mass. — of July 2d.

⁸³ Taken from *The Connecticut Gazette, etc.*, (N) of June 7th. See also *The Virginia Gazette* (C) of May 18th; *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* (N) of May 28th; *Dunlap's, etc.*, (N) of June 3d; and *The American Gazette, etc.*, (Ex) of July 2d.

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⁸⁴ Also, see note 86, *post*.

⁸⁵ On the 18th, Thomas Ludwell Lee writes (See note 103, chapter IX), to R. H. Lee: "Col. Nelson is on his way to Congress"; and, on the 20th, Henry, to John Adams: "[Qy] Before this reaches you [It was received, June 3d] the Resolution for finally separating from Britain will be handed to Congress by Col^o Nelson."

#

Strangely enough, however, there is in existence the following :

[N] D^r The Commonwealth of Virginia in Account with Thomas Nelson jr. . . .

. . .
1776

To Attendance [in Congress] from 9th June 76

till Aug: 11th - - - 62 - days . . .

To do from Aug: 11th Till Sep^r 21st 41 Days . . .

This is endorsed, however: "Thomas Nelson £169..15..6 Jan. 15th 1779 Deleg^t Congress Commonwealth of Virginia".

##

On September 18th, Nelson writes (from Philadelphia) to Page: "[N] I am almost overdone with such constant attendance upon the business of Congress . . ."

⁸⁶ R. H. Lee was notified direct by Thomas Ludwell Lee and by John Augustine Washington (Also, see Henry's letter, note 77, *supra*). Both letters were dated the 18th. The former said: "[M⁸] Enclosed you have some printed resolves which passed our Convention to the infinite joy of the people here. The preamble is not to be admired in point of composition, nor has the resolve of Independency that peremptory and decided air which I could wish . . . However, such as they are, the exultation was extreme. The British Flag was immediately struck on the Capitol, and a Continental hoisted in its room. The

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troops were drawn out, and we had a discharge of Artillery and small arms. You have also a set of resolves offered by Col. M. Smith, but the first, which were proposed the second day by the President,—for the debate lasted two days,—were preferred. These he had formed from the resolves and preambles of the first day badly put together.” The latter wrote: “[M^s] I . . . enclose you . . . an instruction to our Delegates . . . It is not so full as some would have wished it, but I hope may answer the purpose. What gave me pleasure was, that the resolve was made by a very full house and without a dissenting voice.”

John Adams too was notified direct, by Richard (*not Richard Henry*) Lee by letter of the 18th and by Henry by letter of the 20th. The letter of the former is almost identical in language with that of Thomas Ludwell Lee to R. H. Lee. For the letter of the latter, see note 77, *supra*.

#

See between pp. 80 and 81.

⁸⁷ See note 125, *post*.

⁸⁸ As seen by the letter of the 20th, he refers to *Common Sense*.

⁸⁹ He had not returned, March 1st: see note 38, chapter IX; but “Hooper just returned from Boston says . . .” appears in the *Diary* of Richard Smith for March 6th.

⁹⁰ Penn was chosen upon a committee in Congress on March 22d. (See note 91, *post*.) Hooper certainly had left Philadelphia by the 26th: see note 93, *post*. They probably set out together; though see notes 91 and 92, *post*. As to their respective returns to Philadelphia, see note 51, chapter IX.

⁹¹ John Adams writes from Philadelphia on the 28th: “[QyC] This Morning I had the Pleasure of receiving yours of April 17th . . . My respectfull Compliments to my Countryman M^r Hooper —”

⁹² The committee who drafted these instructions were Cornelius Harnett, Allen Jones, Thomas Burke, Abner Nash, John

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Kinchin, Thomas Person and Thomas Jones. Samuel Johnston also was doubtless present when they were adopted.

⁹⁸ Hewes had remained in Philadelphia. (On March 26th, he writes to James Iredell: "[I] As I imagine you will be at Halifax, and will there see my friend Hooper, who will be able to give you all the news and politics, I shall not trouble you with anything in that way; as to myself, I am ashamed to be always complaining, yet I must say I think myself declining fast; such close attention to business every day in Congress till three, four and sometimes five o'clock, and on committee almost every evening, and frequently in the morning before Congress meets, is too much for my constitution — however, my country is entitled to my services, and I shall not shrink from her cause, even though it should cost me my life." On May 17th, he writes, to the same friend: "[Tr] . . . an obstinate Ague & Fever or rather an intermitting Fever persecutes me continually, I have no way to remove it unless I retire from Congress and from public business this I am determined not to do till N^o Carolina sends a further delegation provided I am able to crawl to the Congress Chamber . . ." For portions of a letter of July 8th, see notes 51 and 12, chapters IX and XI, respectively. Indeed, a letter dated as early as July 8, 1775, to Iredell, also speaks very strongly of "[I] bad health, and a weakness in my eyes . . .")

⁹⁴ William Henry Drayton was President. John Rutledge, Henry Middleton, Thomas Lynch, Jr., C. C. Pinckney and Henry Laurens (See note 125, chapter XI) also seem to have been present, and perhaps Gadsden; and it is almost certain that Arthur Middleton and Heyward had not yet left (See note 37, chapter IX) for Philadelphia.

⁹⁶ See note 94, *supra*. Edward Rutledge and Thomas Lynch, Sr., remained in Philadelphia.

⁹⁶ This seems even certain from the language of the instructions — giving "any one of the said Delegates" the power to

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represent the Colony — and from the fact that they were passed on the very day of (and following) the receipt of a letter of the 1st from Edward Rutledge. The contents of this letter, it is true, are not given by Force in the proceedings of the Provincial Congress, and we do not know them; but Edward Rutledge and the elder Lynch only (See note 94, *supra*) were then in Philadelphia, and we feel sure that it announced the sudden and serious illness of Lynch, for (Also, see note 38, chapter IX) Laurens writes, from Charleston, March 24th: “[Cs] We have lost one of the best friends to this Country & one of the ablest politicians in America by a stroke of apoplexy on the elder M^r Lynch in Philadelphia — he had been twelve days languishing when the Messenger came away on the 3^d March wholly deprived of speech & understanding — his Son goes to morrow to see and also to succeed him as a delegate — for if he survives he must change his habits & Air — the Messenger brought a private Letter from a Doctor Swindt . . . the Letter was dated day after that from M^r E. Rutledge . . .” (For another portion of this letter, see note 125, chapter XI.)

⁹⁷ John Rutledge was chosen President, Laurens Vice-President and Drayton Chief Justice.

⁹⁸ See *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, etc., (1821).

⁹⁹ This *seems* strange in view of note 37, chapter IX. One might say, however, that he was *converted* by *Common Sense*; but see p. 12. Indeed, see p. 54.

¹⁰⁰ At the election held (in Savannah), February 2d, Bullock, Houston and Hall were reelected and Button Gwinnett and George Walton elected in place of Zubly and Jones.

The Provincial Congress resolved “That it be recommended that three of the Delegates do proceed, with all possible despatch, to Philadelphia”; but it was May 20th before, as the Journal tells us, “Lyman Hall & Button Gwinnett Esquires Two of the delegates from Georgia attended and produced the credentials

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of their appointment", and it was probably June 29th before Walton arrived. We know the latter from the facts that *The Pennsylvania Journal; and the Weekly Advertiser* (C) of June 26th, as a communication from Williamsburg, Va., dated the 15th, says: "This day arrived in town from Georgia, on his way to the General Congress, GEORGE WALTON"; that there is in the collection of Theodore Bailey Myers now in the New York Public Library (Lenox) a receipt signed by Walton dated Williamsburg, June 17th; that Bullock writes to John Adams, from Savannah, Ga., May 1st: "[Qy] As a Multiplicity of public Business prevents my revisiting Philadelphia, I have embraced an Opportunity by Major Walton of enquiring after your Welfare; and as he is capable of giving you the amplest Account of the State of this Province, I wou'd take the Liberty of introducing him to your Notice and Acquaintance. —" and superscribes his letter: "Fav^d by the Hon^{ble} Major Walton"; and that, in answering this letter, July 1st, Adams says: "[J] Two days ago I received your favor of May 1st . . ."

Hall, Gwinnett and Walton, therefore, and possibly (See note 37, chapter IX) Bullock and Houston were present in the Provincial Congress when (April 5th) the instructions were passed.

Hall, Gwinnett and Walton signed the Declaration on parchment now in the Department of State. John Adams, in his *Autobiography*, speaks of Hall and Gwinnett as "[J] intelligent and spirited men, who made a powerful addition to our phalanx." See p. 162.

¹⁰¹ A letter of March 19, 1776, from Adams, to his wife — written before he knew who was the author of *Common Sense* — says: "[J] You ask [See note 8, *supra*] what is thought of 'Common Sense.' Sensible men think there are some whims, some sophisms, some artful addresses to superstitious notions, some keen attempts upon the passions, in this pamphlet. But

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all agree there is a great deal of good sense delivered in clear, simple, concise, and nervous style. His sentiments of the abilities of America, and of the difficulty of a reconciliation with Great Britain, are generally approved. But his notions and plans of continental government are not much applauded. Indeed, this writer has a better hand in pulling down than building. It has been very generally propagated through the continent that I wrote this pamphlet. But although I could not have written any thing in so manly and striking a style, I flatter myself I should have made a more respectable figure as an architect, if I had undertaken such a work."

Another *letter*, also to his wife, dated April 28th, says: "[Ad] The writer of 'Common Sense' and 'The Forester' is the same person . . . a man who, General Lee says, has genius in his eyes."

*

Also, see pp. 23 and 35.

#

Rush's *Diary* says: "[BT] Died at New York June 8th Thursday 1809, Thomas Paine—author of common sense . . . I knew him well soon after his arrival in America in 1773 [James Cheetham—See *post*—says he did not sail until September, 1774] at which time he was unfriendly to the claims of America. He wrote his common sense at my request. I gave it its name. He possessed a wonderful talent of writing to the *tempers* and *feelings* of the public. His compositions tho' full of splendid & original imagery were always adapted to common capacities."

Under date of the 17th of the same month and year, he writes to Cheetham (See *The Life of Thomas Paine*, etc.): "When the subject of American Independence began to be agitated in conversation, I observed the publick mind to be loaded with an immense mass of prejudice and error relative to it. Something appeared to be wanting, to remove them, beyond the ordinary

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short and cold addresses of newspaper publications. At this time I called upon Mr. Paine and suggested to him the propriety of preparing our citizens for a perpetual separation of our country from Great Britain, by means of a work of such length as would obviate all the objections to it. He seized the idea with avidity, and immediately began his famous pamphlet in favour of the measure. He read the sheets to me at my house as he composed them. When he had finished them, I advised him to put them into the hands of Dr. Franklin, Samuel Adams, and the late Judge Wilson, assuring him, at the same time, that they all held the same opinions that he had defended. The first of those gentlemen saw the manuscript, and I believe the second, but Judge Wilson being from home when Mr. Paine called upon him, it was not subjected to his inspection. No addition was made to it by Dr. Franklin, but a passage was struck out, or omitted in printing it, which I conceived to be one of the most striking in it. It was the following — ‘A greater absurdity cannot be conceived of, than three millions of people running to their sea coast every time a ship arrives from London, to know what portion of liberty they should enjoy.’ A title only was wanted for this pamphlet before it was committed to the press. Mr. Paine proposed to call it ‘plain truth.’ I objected to it and suggested the title of ‘Common Sense.’ This was instantly adopted, and nothing now remained, but to find a printer who had boldness enough to publish it. At that time there was a certain Robert Bell, an intelligent Scotch bookseller and printer in Philadelphia, whom I knew to be as high toned as Mr. Paine upon the subject of American Independence. I mentioned the pamphlet to him, and he at once consented to run the risk of publishing it. The author and the printer were immediately brought together, and ‘Common Sense’ bursted from the press of the latter in a few days with an effect which has rarely been produced by types and paper in any age or country.”

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¹⁰³ This may be, and very likely is, true; but we must not forget that the *people at large* knew nothing of these debates.

¹⁰⁸ See note 2, chapter II; pp. 40, 47, 49, 50, 70, 71, 72, 73, 81, 82, 83, 88 and 89; note 101, *supra*; *Bullock*, note 37, chapter IX; *Wisner*, note 39, *ibid.*; note 97, *ibid.*; *The Rise of the Republic of the United States* by Richard Frothingham; and *The Life of Thomas Paine*, etc., by Moncure Daniel Conway.

Also, we know that Cæsar Rodney purchased a copy of the 2d edition, in Philadelphia, February 20th.

#

Wolcott writes, from Philadelphia to Samuel Lyman, February 3d: "[PS] I am well and have been so since I left Home — common Sence Operates pritty well, but all Men have not common Sence —"

Franklin, in introducing Paine to General Charles Lee, by letter of February 19th, says: "[X] He is reputed, and, I think, the real author of 'Common Sense,' a pamphlet that has made great impression here."

¹⁰⁴ This may perhaps be true; but it cannot be doubted that the action of Congress was at least *hastened* by the change of feeling among the people at large and that *this change* was at least *hastened* by *Common Sense*.

#

Francis Lightfoot Lee writes from Philadelphia to Landon Carter, May 21st: "[Tr] I have received your very acceptable Letter of the 30 Ap! . . . This [Pennsylvania] & the adjoining Colonies are coming fast into Independency & constituting new Governm^{ts} convinced of the necessity of it, both for the security of internal peace & good order; and for the vigorous exertion of their whole force against the common Enemy. I agree with you that the arbitrary & cruel proceedings of the British Court and the selfish indolence of the people of England, has made

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more independents, than Common sense for however plausible in theory the prospect of wealth and grandeur; old habits and prejudices; and fears, of what we know not, will ever be great obstructions to changes in Governm^t—tyranny & oppression often effect it . . . I beg my aff^t com^{rs} may be accepted at Sabine Hall M^r Lee joins in the request[.] ”

¹⁰⁶ Also, see note 32, chapter IV.

¹⁰⁶ Franklin, in a letter to Josiah Quincy, written at Saratoga, April 15th, when on his way to Canada, says: “[X] The novelty of the thing [the establishment of a central government and the forming of alliances, etc.] deters some; the doubt of success, others; the vain hope of reconciliation, many. But our enemies take continually every proper measure to remove these obstacles . . . so that there is a rapid increase of the formerly small party, who were for an independent government . . . I thought, when I sat down, to have written by this opportunity to Dr. Cooper, Mr. Bowdoin, and Dr. Winthrop, but I am interrupted. Be so good as to present my affectionate respects to them . . .” Also, see p. 78; note 4, chapter IV; and pp. 114, 175 and 235. See also note 125, chapter XI.

¹⁰⁷ This and the following quotations are taken from a copy of the letter furnished to us by Z. T. Hollingsworth of Boston, who has the original.

A letter of Carter, to Washington of May 9th, has already been given (See p. 75).

¹⁰⁸ See p. 46; note 125, *post*; and note 97, chapter IX. See also a letter of John Adams to his wife of April 15, 1775, in *Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife Abigail Adams, during the Revolution* by Charles Francis Adams.

¹⁰⁹ For a later letter, see p. 226.

¹¹⁰ For a later letter, see p. 227.

¹¹¹ See p. 69.

¹¹² As we have seen, he was not renominated, August 11,

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1775 — at his own request ; and, of course, therefore, he did not serve thereafter.

¹¹³ Edward Tilghman, a nephew of Matthew Tilghman, however, writes, to his father, February 4th : “[E] There is reason to believe that the disposition of Congress (a majority) are in favor of reconciliation and abhorrent from independency. The division is this : Rhode Island frequently loses a vote, having only two members, and they differing ; New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and the Ancient Dominion hang very much together. They are what we call violent, and suspected of independency. All the others breathe reconciliation, except that the Lower Counties are sometimes divided by the absence of Rodney or Read. Colonel McKean is a true Presbyterian, and joins the violent. The minority are indefatigable, try all schemes in all shapes, act in concert, and thereby have a considerable advantage over the others, who are by no means so closely united. Some time since, Judas Iscariot made a motion, of whose contents I am not quite certain, but it tended toward a *closer confederacy*, and was of such a nature that whole Colonies threatened to leave the Congress.” Also, see note 114, *post*.

¹¹⁴ The latter part of this extract from the *Autobiography* evidently applies to a later period than the date under which it is written ; for (Also, see note 113, *supra*) a *letter* of Adams of April 15th — although due, perhaps, somewhat to ill health or absence from his family or both — would seem to indicate the existence of a far less hopeful state of facts *at the time*. It says : “I have been very busy for some time . . . I shall get nothing by it, I believe, because I never get anything by anything that I do. I am sure the publick or posterity ought to get something. I believe my children will think I might as well have thought and laboured a little, night and day, for their benefit. But I will not bear the reproaches of my children. I will tell them, that I studied and laboured to procure a free Constitution

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of Government for them to solace themselves under, and if they do not prefer this to ample fortune, to ease, and elegance, they are not my children, and I care not what becomes of them."

¹¹⁶ This statement, etc., may be found also in a *letter* of John Adams (to Chase) dated Philadelphia, June 14 (17?), 1776.

#

The resolution of Maryland is in *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* (N) of May 30th.

¹¹⁸ Samuel Adams' opinions of the condition of affairs on April 16th and on April 30th are to be found at pp. 46 and 47, respectively.

#

The New-England Chronicle (MsS) of August 2d contains the following: "[The following paragraphs were taken from a Halifax Paper of the 2d of July.] . . . May 3. The Congress have determined to declare AMERICA an independent state . . ."

¹¹⁷ A letter from Hopkins of the 15th may be found at p. 56.

Wolcott writes to Samuel Lyman on the 16th: "[PE] The news is Inclosd — a Revolution in Government, you will perceive is about to take effect —"

R. R. Livingston writes to Jay on the 17th: "[Z] Mr. Duane tells me he has enclosed [See note 119, *post*] you a copy of the resolutions [See p. 105] of the 15th. I make no observations on it in this place for fear of accidents. It has occasioned a great alarm here, & the cautious folks are very fearful of its being attended with many ill consequences next week when the Assembly [of Pennsylvania] are to meet; some points of the last importance are to be agitated (as we imagine), very early . . . send some of our delegates along as the province will otherwise be often unrepresented, since I find it inconsistent with my health to be close in my attendance in Congress. You have by this time sounded our people, I hope they are satisfied of the

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necessity of assuming a new form of Government [for New York] . . .”

Franklin writes (from New York City, on his way back from Montreal to Philadelphia) to Chase and Charles Carroll of Carrollton on the 27th: “[N] The Congress have advis’d the erecting new Governments, which has occasioned some Dissention at Philad^a; but I hope it will soon be compos’d . . . I find I grow daily more feeble . . .”

¹¹⁸ Jefferson writes to Page from Philadelphia, May 17th: “[N] Having arrived here but lately [the 14th] I have little to communicate. I have been so long out of the political world that I am almost a new man in it.” (He seems to have been in Philadelphia at least as late as December 10, 1775, and to have left before the New Year.) Ellery attended for the first time on the same day (the 14th). Franklin, Chase, Johnson, Goldsborough, Paca, Bartlett, R. R. Livingston, Jay, Alsop, Francis Lewis, Hall, Hooper and Penn (and, of course, John Rutledge, Schuyler, Langdon, Houston and Bullock) were absent and Walton and Gwinnett had not yet arrived, *we know*, on the 15th.

¹¹⁹ Duane writes from Philadelphia to Jay on the 16th: “[Z] . . . the resolution itself first passed and then a Committee was appointed to fit it with a preamble. Compare them with each other and it will probably lead you into Reflections which I dare not point out.”

¹²⁰ We have already given another portion of this letter at p. 62.

¹²¹ During the discussions, as shown by John Adams’ *debates*, “[J] *Mr. Duane* . . . [moved] that the delegation from New York might be read. When we were invited by Massachusetts Bay to the first Congress, an objection was made to binding ourselves by votes of Congress. Congress ought not to determine a point of this sort about instituting government. What is it to Congress how justice is administered? You have no

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right to pass the resolution, any more than Parliament has. How does it appear that no favorable answer is likely to be given to our petitions? Every account of foreign aid is accompanied with an account of commissioners. Why all this haste? why this urging? why this driving? Disputes about independence are in all the Colonies. What is this owing to but our indiscretion? I shall take the liberty of informing my constituents that I have not been guilty of a breach of trust. I do protest against this piece of mechanism, this preamble. If the facts in this preamble should prove to be true, there will not be one voice against independence. I suppose the votes have been numbered, and there is to be a majority." Also, see note 119, *supra*.

¹²² In France, the resolution was not credited with more than its face value; for Silas Deane writes from Paris: "[It] . . . is not considered by the Ministry as a Declaration of Independence, but only a previous step, and until this decisive step is taken, I can do little more to any purpose . . . I must therefore urge this measure, if not already taken, and that the Declaration be in the most full and explicit terms."

¹²³ We have already given another portion of this letter at p. 110.

¹²⁴ Whipple and Bartlett had similar views: see note 41, *supra*, and p. 132.

¹²⁵ Washington, who remained (See p. 80) in Philadelphia until the morning of June 5th, writes, however, as late as May 31st, to his brother, John Augustine Washington: "[Y] I am very glad to find that the Virginia Convention have passed so noble a vote, and with so much unanimity . . . many members of Congress, in short, the representation of whole provinces, are still feeding themselves upon the dainty food of reconciliation . . ."

¹²⁶ This letter begins: "I had this morning the pleasure of yours of 20 May." For Henry's letter, see note 77, *supra*.

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CHAPTER IV

¹ This and all former quotations from the Journal, as well as all following quotations except where specially stated otherwise, are from the original or *rough* Journal and not from the transcript or *corrected* Journal, both of which (formerly in the Department of State) are now in the Library of Congress.

There is, however, but little variance between the two.

² Here, in the *corrected* Journal, are the words "respecting independency". The *rough* Journal, as shown, does not disclose at all the character of the resolutions offered; see, however, p. 118.

³ The original resolutions (See facing p. 108; see also Force's *American Archives*, ser. 4, vol. 6, p. 1700) (formerly in the Department of State) are now in the Library of Congress. They are in the handwriting of R. H. Lee.

#

The resolutions (framed and in a case) in "Independence Hall" (which are claimed, we understand, to be the original) are not. (They have been photographed and some of these photographic copies also are in "Independence Hall".)

We state this thus unreservedly (though, as we have said, the resolutions in "Independence Hall" are framed and in a case and we, therefore, have had no opportunity to examine them except therein) for the following reasons: because the resolutions in the Library of Congress are written on a half-page of paper which is of the same texture and quality, and bears the lower half of the same water-mark, as the full page of paper (See note 2, chapter VII) upon which is found what we think is the original of the report of the committee of the whole of July 1st; because the paper, indeed, is the same as that of the various drafts by Jefferson of the Declaration existing and spoken of later; because the resolutions in the Library of Congress have three

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periods which are not visible in the resolutions in "Independence Hall"; because on the back of the resolutions in the Library of Congress is endorsed the following :

June 7 — 1776. N^o 4 —
Resolutions moved

June 7th 1776.
referred for consideration
till to morrow

respecting Independanc of the U: S — [The edges are pasted onto strong paper and are also worn ; so that we cannot say whether there was here a y or an e.]

while on those (one page) in "Independence Hall" is simply :

June 7 — 1776.
Resolutions moved
June 7th 1776
referred for consideration
till to morrow

because the words "respecting Independanc of the U: S —" just given are in Thomson's handwriting, though the pen and ink used were evidently different ; because, on the report of the committee of the whole, above mentioned, is endorsed, as we shall see, "N^o 5" ; because the half-page in the Library of Congress has been folded and the marks of the ink, resultant from this folding, are plainly visible ; because the resolutions in the Library of Congress are where the resolutions ought to be ; because Charles S. Keyser of Philadelphia writes us, under date of November 17, 1900, respecting those in "Independence Hall": "They have been in Museum for about 25 years and were deposited by the late Col. Etting [See note 15, chapter XI], the historian of the Hall"; and because one edge of the resolutions in "Independence Hall" shows that it has been cut by scissors.

Moreover, Mrs. I. B. Chew of Philadelphia very kindly fur-

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nished us with one of the photographic copies of the resolutions in "Independence Hall", concerning which she writes us, under date of February 12, 1901: "I had the photographs taken and gave them to Independence Hall . . . Mrs. C C Harrison kindly loaned me her broadside of the Declaration that it might be photographed . . . It has never been photographed before—& the resolutions by Richard Henry Lee were photographed at the same time—I had it done at the Museum of Independence Hall in my presence, as I would not allow either of the papers to go out of my sight—whilst they were in my charge"; and this photographic copy we compared carefully with the resolutions in the Library of Congress. This comparison showed that the resolutions in "Independence Hall" are so like those in the Library of Congress that these must be a *facsimile* of those in "Independence Hall" or those in "Independence Hall" a *facsimile* of the resolutions in the Library of Congress.

Such being the fact, there can be but one conclusion (because of the reasons already given, among which, as seen, is the fact that the resolutions in the Library of Congress bear certain words, etc., which do not appear on the resolutions in "Independence Hall" and which were evidently not thought to be material—and, therefore, not included—when, as we think, a *facsimile* of the resolutions, now, in the Library of Congress was made, and because the resolutions in "Independence Hall" are exactly the same as the *facsimile* found in Force's *American Archives*, *supra*), viz., that the resolutions in "Independence Hall" are a *facsimile*, and perhaps one of those originally in one of the sets of Force's *American Archives*.

##

On the reverse side of the piece of paper upon which they (the original resolutions in the Library of Congress) are written is the following (See facing p. 116) (See entry in Journal, p. 118):

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[S] Resolved that it is the opinion of this Com^e that the first Resolution 'be postponed to this day three weeks and that in the mean time, a committee be appointed to prepare a Declaration to the effect of the said first resolution

+ least any time sh^d be lost in case the Congress agree to this resolution

The part "Resolved . . . Resolution" is evidently in the handwriting of Harrison.

The following down to and including "said first resolution" is in the handwriting of Thomson.

There is another paper (formerly in the Department of State) in the Library of Congress, upon which is endorsed the following: "[S] In arranging the Revolutionary papers, this paper in the hand writing of Daniel Brent was found among the Reports of Committees . . . William A Weaver, December, 27. 1833." Upon "this paper in the hand writing of Daniel Brent", which is a résumé of the proceedings in Congress on the subject of independence, appears (what is evidently a correct statement): "[S] The words [+ least any time . . . this resolution]" . . . formed an amendment which is endorsed upon the back of the original Resolutions, in the Hand writing of Robert R. Livingston, a Delegate from New York."

⁴ See note 50, chapter VII.

##

He and Cushing "had Leave of Absence", December 23, 1775; and the *Diary* of Richard Smith shows that he was appointed upon a committee on March 11, 1776. He writes to Washington, from Philadelphia, March 13th: "[S] I was in Virg^a (from whence I am but just returned) when your favor of the 26th Dec^r came here . . ."

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A little over a month later (April 20th), he writes, to Henry :
“[Q] Ages yet unborn, and millions existing at present, must rue or bless that Assembly [See p. 76], on which their happiness or misery will so eminently depend. Virginia has hitherto taken the lead in great affairs, and many now look to her with anxious expectation, hoping that the spirit, wisdom, and energy of her councils, will rouse America from the fatal lethargy into which the feebleness, folly, and interested views of the Proprietary governments, with the aid of Tory machinations, have thrown her most unhappily . . . The act of Parliament has to every legal intent and purpose dissolved our government . . . This proves the undispensable necessity of our taking up government immediately . . . above all to set an example which N. Carolina, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and N. York will most assuredly, in my opinion, follow . . . When this is done, give peremptory instructions to your Delegates to take every effectual step to secure America from the despotic aims of the British Court by Treaties of alliance with foreign States, or by any means that shall be thought most conducive to that end . . . I leave it with you to judge, whether, whilst we are hesitating about forming alliance, Great Britain may not, and probably will not, seal our ruin by signing a Treaty of partition with two or three ambitious powers that may aid in conquering us . . . All this danger however may be prevented by a timely alliance with proper and willing powers in Europe . . . But no State in Europe will either Treat or Trade with us so long as we consider ourselves Subjects of G. B. Honor, dignity, and the customs of states forbid them until we take rank as an independant people . . . Our clearest interest therefore, our very existence as freemen, requires that we take decisive steps now, whilst we may, for the security of America.” (For Henry’s reply, see note 77, chapter III.)

On *May 10th*, however, General Charles Lee writes from Williamsburg to him : “[A] Your Brother and I think from the

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language of your letters that the pulse of the Congress is low ; and that you yourself with all your vigor are by collision somewhat more contracted in your hopes than We wish to have found — by the eternal God if you do not declare immediately for positive independence We are all ruin'd — ”

#

Jefferson, writing at Monticello to John Adams, December 18, 1825, says: “[P] I presume you have received a copy of the life of Rich^d H. Lee from his grandson of the same name, author of the work. you and I know that he merited much during the revolution — eloquent, bold and ever watchful at his post, of which his biographer omits no proof. I am not certain whether the friends of George Mason, of Patrick Henry, yourself, and even of Gen^l Washington may not reclaim some feathers of the plumage given him noble as was his proper and original coat. but on this subject I will anticipate your own judgment.” Also, see *Appendix*, p. 346.

Also, see p. 99; note 7, *post*; p. 121; Samuel Adams’ letter, p. 213; *Appendix*, note 106; and *Appendix*, pp. 350 and 351.

⁵ Lossing — evidently without authority — says: “[H] To shield them from the royal ire, Congress directed its secretary to omit the names of its mover and seconder, in the Journals.”

⁶ Thomson himself, as “repeat[ed], in his own words” by William Allen (See the *American Quarterly Review*, C and N, I, 30), says: “I was married to my second wife, on a Thursday; on the next Monday, I came to town to pay my respects to my wife’s aunt, and the family; just as I alighted in Chesnut street, the door-keeper of congress (then first met [October, 1774],) accosted me with a message from them, requesting my presence . . . I . . . followed the messenger . . . to the Carpenters’ Hall, and entered congress . . . I walked up the aisle, and standing opposite to the President, I bowed, and told him I awaited his pleasure. He replied, ‘Congress desire the favour

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of you, Sir, to take their Minutes.' I bowed in acquiescence, and took my seat at the desk. After a short silence, Patrick Henry rose to speak . . . he observed, that . . . our public circumstances were like those of a man in deep embarrassment and trouble, who had called his friends together to devise what was best to be done for his relief — one would propose one thing, and another a different one, whilst perhaps a third would think of something better suited to his unhappy circumstances, which he would embrace, and think no more of the rejected schemes, with which he would have nothing to do. 'I thought,' continued the venerable narrator, 'that this was very good instruction to me, with respect to the taking the Minutes; what congress adopted, I committed to writing; with what they rejected, I had nothing farther to do; and even this method led to some squabbles with the members, who were desirous of having their speeches and resolutions, however put to rest by the majority, still preserved upon the Minutes.' "

#

Another interesting bit regarding the Journal appears in a letter of Hancock dated May 16, 1776: "I am prevented from enclosing a resolve by means of the Secretary, with the Journal, being out of town."

⁷ Madison, writing to Thomas Ritchie from Montpelier, Va., August 13, 1822, (as shown by what is evidently the original draft, though marked "Copy", formerly in the Department of State and now in the Library of Congress) says: "The Enquirer of the 6th [See *Appendix*, p. 350] very properly animadverts on the attempts to pervert the historical circumstances relating to the Draught of the Declaration of Independance. The fact, that M: Jefferson was the author and the nature of the alterations made in the Original, are too well known and the proofs are too well preserved to admit of successful misrepresentation. In one important particular, the truth, tho on record, seems to have es-

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caped attention: and justice to be so far left undone to Virg^a. It was in obedience to *her* positive *instruction* to her Delegates in Cong^s that the motion for Independance was made. The instruction passed *unanimously* in her Convention on the 15 of May 1776 . . . and the mover was of course, the mouth only of the Delegation, as the Delegation was of the Convention. Had P. Randolph the first named not been cut off by Death, the motion w^d have been made by him. The duty, in consequence of that event devolved on the next in order [See note 62, chapter II] R. H. Lee, who had political merits of a sort very different from that circumstantial distinction."

#

John Adams, however,—in a letter to R. H. Lee, the grandson and biographer, dated February 24, 1821—says: "[J] Richard Henry Lee . . . was a gentleman of fine talents, of amiable manners, and great worth. As a public speaker, he had a fluency as easy and graceful as it was melodious, which his classical education enabled him to decorate with frequent allusion to some of the finest passages of antiquity. With all his brothers he was always devoted to the cause of his country . . . I cannot take upon me to assert, upon my own memory, who were the movers of particular measures in Congress, because I thought it of little importance. I have read in some of our histories, that . . . Richard Henry Lee [made the first motion] for a declaration of independence. As such motions were generally concerted beforehand, I presume . . . Richard H. Lee was preferred for the motion for independence, because he was from the most ancient colony, &c. . . . It ought to be eternally remembered, that the eastern members were interdicted from taking the lead in any great measures, because they lay under an odium and a great weight of unpopularity. Because they had been suspected from the beginning of having independence in contemplation, they were restrained from the appearance of promoting any

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great measures by their own discretion, as well as by the general sense of Congress. That your grandfather made a speech in favor of a declaration of independence, I have no doubt, and very probably more than one, though I cannot take upon me to repeat from memory any part of his speeches, or any others that were made upon that occasion. The principles and sentiments and expressions of the Declaration of Independence had been so often pronounced and echoed and reëchoed in that Congress for two years before, and especially for the last six months, that it will forever be impossible to ascertain who uttered them, and upon what occasion."

⁸ See note 22, chapter VI.

⁹ Madison says (See note 7, *supra*) the same.

¹⁰ See p. 119.

¹¹ The last two letters of "this" are written over an e.

¹² These *notes*, so far as they relate to the subject of independence, are given in full (except the portion here quoted and the Declaration proper, found at p. 172) in the *Appendix*, p. 295.

The original *notes* are among the Jefferson papers (formerly in the Department of State) now in the Library of Congress, bound as a part of Jefferson's *Autobiography*, which begins as follows: "[S] 1821. Jan. 6 at the age of 77. I begin to make some memoranda and state some recollections of dates & facts concerning myself, for my own more ready reference & for the information of my family."

They *seem* to have been written practically at one sitting (See, however, *Appendix*, note 15), and, we *think*, after his retirement from Congress, of which he speaks as follows in his *Autobiography*: "[S] The new government was organizing . . . I thought I could be of more use in forwarding that work. I therefore retired from my seat in Congress, on the 2^d of Sep. [1776] resigned it, and took my place in the legislature of my state, on the 7th of October."

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This and all other quotations from the *notes* were taken from the original MS.

¹³ See p. 137.

¹⁴ See *Life of Thomas Jefferson*, etc., by Thomas James Parton, p. 187.

¹⁵ See pp. 116 and 139.

¹⁶ A copy of the *notes* sent by Jefferson (and in his handwriting) to Madison in 1783 (See *Appendix*, p. 352) reads as follows: “. . . Livingston, E. Rutlege, Dickinson . . .” The corrections in the *notes*, however, are, we think, in different (yet brown) ink than the body of the *notes*, seeming to be of the same color as (though perhaps slightly darker than) that of the copy of the *notes* sent to Madison. John Rutledge, of course, was not present.

(This and all other quotations from this copy were taken from the original MS.)

¹⁷ See note 23, *post*.

¹⁸ See p. 117; but bear in mind that Rutledge’s letter was written on the 8th.

¹⁹ The last two letters of “this” are written over at. The copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783 has “this”.

²⁰ “~~Pennsylvania~~,” and “~~Dela~~”, of course, do not appear in the copy of the *notes* which Jefferson sent to Madison in 1783.

²¹ This erasure was made evidently at the time of writing. The copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783 reads as follows: “. . . must retire . . .”

²² The copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783 reads as follows: “of the present campaign, which we all hoped would be succesful, we . . .”

²³ Dickinson writes, from Wilmington, October 9, 1807, to Mercy Warren, who had submitted to him her history of the Revolution: “[E] As well as I can rely on my fading memory, R. H. Lee and John Adams were the principal speakers in favor

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of a declaration of independence. As for myself and those who acted with me, we certainly entertained, and expressed, apprehensions of great calamities to both countries should that measure be adopted, but the expression of these apprehensions was always accompanied by a solemn declaration that, dreadful as they (those calamities) might be, they were to be firmly encountered, whatever the consequences might be."

²⁴ Charles Botta, in *History of the Revolution*, gives a speech purporting to be Lee's speech on this day (the 8th); and R. H. Lee, in *Memoir of the Life of R. H. Lee*, his grandfather, quotes the concluding portion of the speech thus given, with the following introduction: "Memory has preserved a faint outline of his first speech, and pronounces the following, as the concluding sentences, with which he introduced his memorable motion . . ."

John Adams, writing from Quincy, July 30, 1815, to M:Kean and to Jefferson, says, however: "[QyC] Chevalier Botta . . . has followed the example of the Greek and Roman Historians, by composing speeches for his Generals and Orators. The Reviewers have translated one of Mr R H Lee in favour of the declaration of Independence. A splendid morcell of oratory it is; how faithful, you can judge": and Jefferson replies from Monticello, August 10th: "[P] Botta, as you observe, has put his own speculations and reasonings into the mouths of persons whom he names, but who, you & I know, never made such speeches"; and M:Kean, from Philadelphia, November 20th: "[J] The speech of Mr. Richard H. Lee, given by . . . Botta, which I have read, may have been delivered, but I have no remembrance of it, though in Congress, nor would it do any member much credit." Moreover, Madison, in a letter to George Alexander Otis, who was translating Botta's *History*, etc., writes (as shown by what is evidently the original draft, formerly in the Department of State and now in the Library of Congress), from

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Montpelier in January, 1821: "He [Botta] was probably led to put his fictitious and doubtless very erroneous speeches exhibiting the arguments for & agst Independence, into the mouths of M^r Lee & M^r Dickenson, by discovery that the former was the organ of the proposition, and the latter the most distinguished of its opponents. It is to be regretted that the Historian had not been more particularly acquainted with what passed in Cong^s on that great occasion. He would probably very justly have assigned to your venerable correspondent [John Adams] a very conspicuous part on the Theatre. I well recollect that the reports from his fellow labourers in the cause from Virg^a filled every mouth in that State with the praises due to the comprehensiveness of his views, the force of his arguments, and the boldness of his patriotism."

Indeed, in any event, Lee, the biographer, is in error in calling it the speech "with which he introduced his memorable motion"; for the resolutions were *introduced* on the 7th.

Also, see note 7, *supra*.

²⁵ See p. 117; but bear in mind that Rutledge's letter was written on the 8th. Franklin *may* have been absent: see note 7, chapter VI.

²⁶ This was inserted evidently at the time of writing. The copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783 reads as follows: ". . . they had only . . ."

²⁷ See pp. 52, 59 and 69.

²⁸ It would seem certain from this that Rodney as well as M^r:Kean was present at this time (though, of course, we could not say *even then* that Rodney must, therefore, have been present on *both* the 8th and 10th). (He was present certainly on May 29th; for, on that day, he writes from Philadelphia, to Thomas Rodney: "[Gz] The Colonies of North-Carolina and Virginia have both by their Conventions declared for Independence by a Unanimous Vote; and have Instructed their members to move

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and Vote for it in Congress . . .") See, however, note 44, chapter IX. See note 113, chapter III.

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Read, on May 1st, as we have seen (See p. 61), expected to go (from Philadelphia) to Wilmington "on Saturday next."

Indeed, on May 10th, he writes from Wilmington, to M:Kean and Rodney: "[GR] I know not when I shall be with you, as I may be of some little use here. I shall stay till there is some alteration in the appearance of things. Excuse this scrawl . . . P. S. — Apothecary's paper — written in the smell of vials."

On May 14th, however, he was again in Philadelphia; for he writes there on that day: "[GR] I have your letter of the 12th instant. I did expect to have been with you last evening, but was detained by a special call of the marine committee . . . I was out at Mr. Gurney's all Friday, on a message from Mrs. Gurney the preceding night, delivered to me in bed about eleven o'clock . . . As to my own health, it is not so good as I could wish. This day week I confined myself to the house, and took some bark, that has relieved me, and am now better, and I should have dined with Gurney to day, but the rain induced me to accept of a seat in Mr. Braxton's coach, and I have been at Mr. Robert Morris' country-house, with a set of people who think and act alike — some consolation in these times. As our Assembly are to meet to-morrow week, I shall have a proper excuse to return to you the last of this. Be assured I wish it most sincerely . . . P. S. — I expect Mr. Rogers, of Maryland, to carry this."

²⁹ From this — and from their letter of the 8th to the Provincial Congress (See p. 183) (which seems to have been lost or taken from the files) and the fact that R. R. Livingston accepted a place upon the committee to draft the Declaration (See p. 200), etc. —, it would seem that the New York Delegates did not take the *decided* stand at this time that they did later, *after the receipt of the reply* (See p. 184) *from their Provincial Congress*.

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Indeed, it is curious to note that the Delegates of New York — who are not mentioned here as “absolutely tied up,” while those of Pennsylvania and Maryland are — were the only ones who did not vote on the last days.

⁸⁰ This erasure was made evidently at the time of writing. The copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783 stops with the colon.

⁸¹ This correction was made evidently at the time of writing. The copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783 reads as follows: “. . . consonant with the . . .”

⁸² *Common Sense* puts it thus: “Under our present domination of British subjects, we can neither be received nor heard abroad: the custom of all courts is against us, and will be so, until, by an independence, we take rank with other nations.”

⁸³ In *Dunlap's*, etc., (C) of October 1st appears the following, as a letter of May 19th from *London*: “Should America this spring declare Independence, it is most certain that France and many other powers of Europe will give her immediate assistance, if applied to, which no power will attempt to do while the Americans stile themselves subjects of the King of Great Britain . . . America must expect to undergo a ten years war, and perhaps a total defeat at last, if she does not declare *immediate Independence*.”

⁸⁴ For a letter of the New York Delegates, also of the 8th, see p. 183.

⁸⁵ See, to the same effect, Hancock's letter, p. 137.

⁸⁶ See p. 188.

⁸⁷ For the debate on this day (and on the 8th), see p. 111. See p. 137.

⁸⁸ We feel sure that this resolution is what is found (See note 3, *supra*) upon the reverse side of the piece of paper upon which are written the original resolutions of June 7th. It will be noticed that a few changes were made by *Congress*.

⁸⁹ See p. 125.

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⁴⁰ These words were *added*, sometime after 1783: see *Appendix*, note 5. It, therefore, would appear that originally Jefferson mentioned here but *five* Colonies; and that these were New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland.

He doubtless added "South Carolina" because it occurred to him that her Delegates also were opposed at this time to a declaration (See, however, p. 132), and, of course, *in this respect*, the addition made the *notes* more accurate; but, at the same time, the *notes as originally written* evidently were correct. Jefferson is here speaking of the Colonies which had not yet matured for falling from the parent stem but were fast advancing to that state and *for which* "*it was thought most prudent to wait a while*". Congress evidently did not expect to hear from *South Carolina* during the next "three weeks".

⁴¹ See the letters of Wells and Jefferson, p. 195 *et seq.* It is quite important that these be read in connection with this portion of this chapter. (See, however, p. 128.) See p. 25.

Perhaps some will be found, however, who will conclude that the change of Hewes took place on June 24th (See p. 130) (though there was no "immediate motion for adjournment" on that day) or even as late as July 1st (See p. 163); or that it took place — before, in fact, the question of declaring independence came (directly) before Congress — on March 22d (See p. 104) or on May 9th (when the resolution of May 15th, as called, was adopted in the committee of the whole and adjourned by the request of a Colony).

See (also) pp. 23, 114, 139, 161 and 163 and note 51, chapter IX.

⁴² He writes from Philadelphia to Samuel Johnston, July 28, 1776: "[N] . . . these two Capital points [a confederation and a plan for foreign alliances] ought to have been settled before our declaration of Independance went forth to the world, this was my opinion long ago and every day experience serves to confirm

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me in that opinion . . .” For other letters from him, see pp. 31 and 81; note 93, chapter III; pp. 85 and 139; and note 12, chapter XI. Also, see pp. 23 and 25.

⁴³ Also, see pp. 23, 25 and 201.

⁴⁴ Samuel Adams (?): see p. 195 *et seq.*

⁴⁵ A letter from Wolcott of this date is given in note 98, chapter IX.

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See note 14, chapter VI.

⁴⁶ He writes to John Lowell on the next day: “[QyC] Some of you must prepare your Stomacks to come to Philadelphia. I am weary, and must ask Leave to return to my Family, after a little Time, and one of my Colleagues at least, must do the Same, or I greatly fear, do worse. — — —”

On the 16th, he writes, to his wife: “[Qy] Great Things are on the Tapis. These Throws will usher in the Birth of a fine Boy.”

⁴⁷ See p. 200.

⁴⁸ Also, see p. 11.

⁴⁹ See p. 99.

⁵⁰ Pickering writes to him from Salem, August 2d: “[MsC] By the public journals, it appears that . . . the next day [June 11th], the committee for preparing the declaration . . . was chosen . . . M^r Jefferson being first on the list, became the chairman. This, considering the composition of the committee, and that M^r Jefferson was the youngest man [This is a mistake; Livingston was younger: but Jefferson was the youngest of those who *avored* a declaration], would appear remarkable. — M^r Charles Lee, who married the daughter of Richard Henry Lee, once gave me this account: that M^r Lee having moved the resolution for declaring the Colonies Independent, would, according to the usual course, have been elected chairman of the committee . . . but sickness in his family caused him to

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return home. M^r. Jefferson, another Virginian, was then chosen to supply his place. By D^r. Ramsay's history of the revolution it appears that R. H. Lee moved the resolution, and that it was seconded by you. This, I have always supposed, was done by previous concert: it being the policy of the Massachusetts delegates (as M^r. Samuel Adams once told me) to cultivate the best harmony with those of Virginia, and in great measures to get her to take the leading step. — This flattered the pride of the Ancient Dominion and obtained a pledge of her perseverance . . . The late chief justice Parsons once told me, that in conversing on this subject, you informed him that you and M^r. Jefferson were the sub-committee to prepare the declaration, and that you left to M^r. Jefferson the making of the draught. Some years ago, a copy of the declaration, as reported to Congress, was put into my hands by some one of the Lee family. It was in M^r. Jefferson's hand-writing, and inclosed in a short letter from him to R. H. Lee, together with a copy of the declaration as amended in Congress . . . Accurate copies of the reported declaration & the letter I lodged a few years ago with the Historical Society in Boston [See note 50, chapter VII] . . . I have thought it desirable that the facts in this case should be ascertained. You alone can give a full statement of them . . .”

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In *Political Essays. A Series of Letters addressed to the People of the United States* (1812), Pickering says: “And Mr. Jefferson being the first on the list of the committee was of course the chairman. A particular policy governed the choice. In the early period of our revolution, it was deemed expedient, in very important questions, that Virginia should take the lead. Virginia was then the largest and most populous of the Colonies. Perhaps too, it was expected that her going before would powerfully influence her neighbors to follow in her track. There might be

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other reasons. Such, however, was the fact; as I was once assured by the late Mr. Samuel Adams (then a member from Massachusetts) with a significance of countenance, in making the remark, which distinguished that wily politician."

⁵¹ See p. 9.

⁵² R. H. Lee himself writes *from Philadelphia* to Washington, June 13th: "[S] I shall be exceedingly obliged to you Sir for getting Mr. Eustace to give in writing all that he knows about this business, and inclose the same to me at Williamsburg . . . This day I sett off for Virginia . . ."

Also, Rogers writes, June 12th: "[PD] Upon my return to my lodging last Night I found in my room your favor of the 11th of May . . . How it came there, or for what reason it has been a Month upon the road, I am unable to inform you . . . Ever since I have been here . . . The Canada Commissioners are returned . . . This comes by Col Richard Henry Lee who if you should happen to fall in with him will give you the best information of every matter you may be desirous of knowing . . . best respects to M^r Lee and my good friends of Mellwood . . ."

⁵³ Jefferson writes from Monticello, January 31, 1819, to Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse: "[P] I was the youngest man but one in the old Congress, and he [Samuel Adams] the oldest but one, as I believe. his only senior, I suppose, was Stephen Hopkins of and by whom the honorable mention made in your letter was richly merited. altho' my high reverence for Samuel Adams was returned by habitual notices from him which highly flattered me, yet the disparity of age prevented intimate and confidential communications. I always considered him as more than any other member the fountain of our important measures, and altho' he was neither an eloquent nor easy speaker, whatever he said was sound and commanded the profound attention of the House. in the discussions on the floor of Congress he reposed

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himself on our main pillar in debate m̄r John Adams. these two gentlemen were verily a host in our councils. comparisons with their associates, Northern or Southern, would answer no profitable purpose, but they would suffer by comparison with none."

CHAPTER V

¹ Also, see p. 125.

² As to their subsequent actions, see pp. 181 and 187, respectively. New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland are treated in this chapter. See note 40, chapter IV. Indeed, see p. 132.

³ See note 40, chapter IV, and *Appendix*, note 5.

⁴ See p. 78.

⁵ He was in Congress as late (See p. 59) as June 10th; for he signed a letter there on that day.

⁶ He seems not to have attended upon Congress: see note 27, chapter III.

⁷ The others were Richard Smith, De Hart and William Livingston: see p. 57.

Smith — *before* the reading of the resolution of the Convention of Virginia — asked of the Provincial Congress "leave to resign his seat" in the Continental Congress "on account of indisposition", which resignation was ordered to be accepted. He seems not to have been opposed to independence: see p. 58.

De Hart was chosen upon a committee in Congress, May 18th. He left probably on the day of the postponement. On June 13th — the day after Smith's resignation —, he also asked of the Provincial Congress leave to resign his seat in the Continental Congress, "on account of the situation of his family and affairs", which resignation also was accepted. He seems to have been opposed to independence: see *ibid.*

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Livingston also would seem (See *ibid.* and note 13, *post*) to have been opposed to independence. Indeed, John Adams says (See *Jay*, note 39, chapter IX) that he "left Congress himself". Adams does not, however, say *when* Livingston left; but we know that he was chosen upon a committee on June 5th; that, on June 12th, a committee was chosen, to be composed of one Delegate from each Colony, and that no one was chosen from New Jersey — doubtless because there was no one in Philadelphia to choose; and that, on the 14th, a letter *from* him, dated the 13th, was laid before Congress. On the 21st — the day before the election —, the Provincial Congress resolved that the President write to him to "take command of the Militia destined for New York"; and the minutes of the 25th show that he answered declining "for reasons therein mentioned". He had long since (October 28, 1775), however, been appointed a Brigadier-General of Militia of New Jersey; and, indeed, he writes as such to General Mercer from Elizabethtown on July 4th.

⁸ See note 7, *supra*.

⁹ Before the election took place, he "resigned" and his resignation was accepted. See his letters, p. 57 *et seq.*, and his letter immediately following in the text. Indeed, John Adams writes to him, July 21st: "[QyC] Your Delegates, behave very well: but I wish for you among them. — I think, however, that you judged wisely in continuing in Convention. — — — where I believe you have been able to do more Good, than you would have done here. —"

¹⁰ He signed the Declaration on parchment now in the Department of State.

¹¹ John Adams, in 1774, describes him as "[J] a clear, sensible preacher." See p. 60.

¹² Also, see note 9, *supra*, and p. 131.

¹³ John Adams, in his *Autobiography*, under this date, says:

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"[Qy] A new Delegation appeared from New Jersey Mr William Livingston and all others who had hitherto resisted Independence were left out." It seems likely, however, that the Journal is correct, and that the Delegates *other than Hopkinson* did not arrive until on or just before July 1st. Indeed, Adams himself, in a letter to Mercy Warren (See p. 159), *in describing the debate on that day* (July 1st), says: "[QyC] . . . the New Jersey Delegates appearing for the first time, desired that the question might be discussed"; though, of course, he *may* have meant simply "for the first time" when a declaration of independence was under consideration.

Also, see p. 158.

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John Adams writes to his wife, August 21st: "[Ad] Yesterday morning I took a walk into Arch Street to see Mr. Peale's painter's room . . . At this shop I met Mr. Francis Hopkinson, late a Mandamus Counsellor of New Jersey, now a member of the Continental Congress, who, it seems, is a native of Philadelphia, a son of a prothonotary of this county, who was a person much respected. The son was liberally educated, and is a painter and a poet. I have a curiosity to penetrate a little deeper into the bosom of this curious gentleman, and may possibly give you some more particulars concerning him. He is one of your pretty, little, curious, ingenious men. His head is not bigger than a large apple, less than our friend Pemberton, or Dr. Simon Tufts. I have not met with anything in natural history more amusing and entertaining than his personal appearance; yet he is genteel and well bred, and is very social."

Rush writes: "[Rid] May 9th This morning died suddenly of an Apoplexy *Francis Hopkinson* Judge of the federal Court of Pennsylvania. He was a man of various talents — he excelled in poetry & music, and had great taste, with some knowledge in painting. His fort was humor & Satyre in which Posterity will

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probably say he was not surpassed by Lucian — Swift or Rabelais. These extraord? powers of nature were generally consecrated to the purposes of patriotism & Science. He possessed uncommon talents for pleasing in company. His wit was not of that coarse kind which sets ‘a table in a roar’. It was mild — delicate and elegant, and infusing cheerfulness rather than mirth in all who heard it . . . He shared largely in the friendship of D^r Franklin. He was so agreeable as neighbour that he constantly created friends in every part of the city in which he resided. — His domestic character was unsullied by any of the usual imperfections which sometimes cleave to genius. He was frugal — regular — faithful — and kind in his family. In public life he was active and just, and the various causes which contributed to the history of the establishment of the Independance and the federal Gov: of the United States will not be fully traced Unless much is ascribed to the irresistible influence of the Ridicule which he occasionally poured forth upon the enemies of those great political events. — ” Of course, see p. 192.

¹⁴ We know that he was in Philadelphia on June 3d; and he was chosen upon a committee as late as the 12th. The Journal shows that, on the next day, “A letter from M^r M Kean dated 2. °clock this morning . . . was laid before Congress.” This letter — headed: “[S] Newcastle June 13th half past 2 A M. 1776.” — says: “The Assembly here have information this moment by express that there are a thousand Tories under arms in Sussex county . . . but we expect soon to give a good Account of these misguided people. — ” It was followed by another, which reads: “[S] Newcastle June 13th 7 oclock P. M. 1776 . . . I have the pleasure to inform you that the Insurgents in Sussex county have dispersed . . .”

¹⁵ See note 30, chapter VII.

¹⁶ See p. 105.

¹⁷ See note 29, *post*.

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¹⁸ See p. 189.

¹⁹ This was due somewhat to distance but more especially to the facts that her Convention had been called for the 20th, while the Provincial Congress of New Jersey and the Assembly of Delaware had been called for the 10th, and that her Convention sent word, as we shall see, to Philadelphia, for all of the Delegates to attend and awaited a reply before taking any action.

²⁰ On February 2d, the Delegates in attendance upon Congress from Maryland were Paca, Alexander and Rogers; for, on that day, the first two sign a letter to the Council of Safety and in it say: "[Md] . . . a Committee of Congress of which M^r Rogers is a Member . . ." They were soon joined by Chase; for he writes a letter "[Md] In Congress" on the 6th. On the 2d, as shown by another letter from him, to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, he had been at "[Md] Charles Town". These four Delegates seem to have served practically throughout February. On the 7th and on the 9th, Chase is chosen upon a committee; on the 10th, he writes to Jenifer from Philadelphia; on the 13th, Alexander is chosen upon a committee; on the same day and on the 14th and 15th, we know, Chase was present; on the 16th, Alexander signs a letter to the Council; on the 20th, Paca and Chase are chosen upon a committee; on the 21st, a matter was referred to Paca, Chase and others; on the 23d, Paca is chosen upon a committee; on the 25th, Alexander and Rogers sign a letter to the Council; on the 26th, Chase is chosen upon a committee; and, on the 27th, Alexander writes (For a previous portion of this letter, see p. 68), to the Council: "[Md] I make no doubt you have heard M^r Chase is ordered to Canada. he sets off in a few days. M^r Rogers has Leave of Absence. should he leave Congress, Maryl^d will be without Representation. I mention this, to shew the Necessity of your Requesting Mess^{rs} Johnson & Stone to attend. I wrote M^r Tilghman, but have not any Answer, altho' my private

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Business requires my Presence in Maryland, I shall not leave this City until a suffi^t number of my Brethren arrive." Just when Rogers left, we do not know; but Tilghman was chosen upon a committee on March 4th, and Johnson was present, we know, on the 7th (of March). Alexander, however, seems not to have left, despite their arrival. On the 9th, he and Johnson write from Philadelphia to the Council. On the 20th also, he writes to the Council, mentioning Johnson as if present (and, indeed, Johnson was chosen upon a committee on that day), and signs "[Md] for self & Colleagues"; and he signs again, with Johnson, on the 26th. Tilghman remained certainly until the 16th (of March), for he writes to the Council from Philadelphia on that day; while Chase was present as late, we know, as the 22d. On the 19th, Paca, Chase and Johnson sign a letter to the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania. About the time of Chase's departure for Canada (The commissioners left New York, April 2d, as shown by Carroll's *Journal*—See *The Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, etc., by Kate Mason Rowland), it seems probable that Tilghman—though he had not been present long—also left, and was followed soon by Paca, and that Stone arrived. That this is so is based upon the facts that Alexander, Johnson, Paca and Stone sign a letter to the Council written at Philadelphia on April 2d; that Johnson is chosen upon a committee on the 3d; that Johnson, Stone and Alexander sign on the 9th; that Johnson and Stone only sign on the 12th and that, on that day, Alexander is chosen upon a committee in the place of Chase, who, the Journal says, is absent; that Johnson, Stone and Alexander sign on the 13th and 16th (and Stone and Alexander only, a second letter, on the latter date); that Johnson signs—mentioning Stone and Alexander as if present—on the 17th; that Johnson, Stone and Alexander sign on the 18th; that Johnson is chosen upon a committee on the 19th and on the 22d; that Johnson signs—stating "[Md] R. A. and T.

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S. join in respects to you " — on the 23d; and that Alexander is chosen upon a committee on the 24th and that, on the same day, as we have seen, Stone writes to the Council: "[Md] I shall set out on Saturday or Sunday next to meet my wife." (This, of course, may mean that his wife was on her way to Philadelphia, to remain with him there; but we think that, under all the circumstances, this is not likely.) Two days before the last letter was written, the Council write to the Delegates, asking them to attend a meeting of the Convention, called for May 7th; and, on the day after (the 25th) that letter was written, which was the day doubtless upon which the letter from the Council was received in Philadelphia, Stone (who was preparing to depart, as we have seen), Johnson and Tilghman (who had evidently returned to relieve Stone) write: "[Md] If M^r Rogers is able we wish his attendance here that as many of us as might be should be at the convention we don't think the province ought to be left unrepresented here." Johnson was still present on the 26th; for he was chosen upon a committee on that day. Goldsborough (See note 70, chapter II) also now attended, as appears from the choice of him upon a committee on the 29th. The Council, on the 27th, forwarded a copy of this request to Rogers, asking that he comply therewith; and Rogers, on the 28th, replied, to the Council: "[Md] I shall endeavour to comply with the request in your favor received this morning by express. I am just recovering from a severe attack of the Gout, and find myself much relaxed and weaken'd, but I am in hopes of being able to set off on Wednesday next, and of getting to Philadelphia time enough for such of the Maryland Gentlemen as intend to be at the Convention, to attend the first day of its meeting[.]" The records of the Convention, sitting at Annapolis, show that Johnson and Goldsborough were present there on the 8th (of May) and that Paca appeared there the next day; and that,

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as shown by the choice of them upon committees, Goldsborough was present certainly as late as the 24th and Paca and Johnson on the 25th, the day of the adjournment. Alexander had remained in Philadelphia, as shown by the choice of him upon a committee in Congress on April 27th and on May 8th; and so also evidently had Tilghman, for he was chosen upon a committee on May 25th. Rogers arrived, to complete the representation, probably as he had promised. (See note 28, chapter IV.) Stone returned on or before June 4th; for a letter to the Delegates from the Council, dated June 8th, says: "[Md] We received M^r Stone's Letter of the 4th inst . . ." He evidently relieved Alexander; for, on June 12th, the Council write the latter: "[Md] M^r Purvience has just now informed us of your return to Balt^o Town, after your long absence from your family and friends . . . We hope soon to hear of your being restored to perfect health."

²¹ This "call" was, of course, wholly unconnected with the (direct) action of Congress upon the subject of independence.

²² See note 20, *supra*.

²³ Carroll's *Journal* for June 10th says: "Set off from Elizabeth-town half-past five. Got to Bristol at eight o'clock, P. M.:—at nine, embarked in our boats, and were rowed down the Delaware to Philadelphia, where we arrived at two o'clock in the night."

²⁴ Franklin returned *earlier*, on account of ill health. He left Montreal, May 11th; on the 27th, he writes from New York City to Chase and Carroll: "[N] We arrived here safe yesterday Evening"; and he arrived in Philadelphia, May 31st.

²⁵ February 15th. See, however, note 20, *supra*.

²⁶ This note is folded; and, on the back, is: "John Adams Esq^r." It bears no date.

²⁷ Chase's wife was very ill: see p. 130 and note 51, chapter IX.

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²⁸ At least, the copy in the copy-book is so dated; and this follows a copy of a letter dated the 12th and precedes one of the 16th, which last is followed by one of the 21st. Each is marked "Sent".

²⁹ Our reasons for this belief are as follows:

The copy in the copy-book, it is true, is dated the 14th (Also, see note 28, *supra*); but Chase's letter of the 28th (See p. 131) acknowledges Adams' letter of the 17th, and Adams seems not to have written any of that date, so far as the copy-book shows. M:Kean can scarcely (See p. 125) have "returned from the Lower Counties" by the 14th. The "Letter which has just come to my Hand", of which Adams speaks, itself was dated the 15th (See p. 124). Chase had not yet heard (See p. 130) from Adams on the 21st; and it usually took only three or four days for a letter between Philadelphia and Annapolis: see pp. 126, 127, 130, 132, 242 and 271.

³⁰ See p. 124.

³¹ He was not reelected, July 4th, though present in the Convention certainly on the first three days of July. See note 110, chapter XI.

³² As for Alexander, see note 51, chapter IX. See also note 20, *supra*.

³³ See note 29, *supra*.

³⁴ He evidently refers to the unanimous resolution of the Committee—Jonathan Willson, chairman, Edward Burgess, Robert Owen, Thomas Cramphin, Jr., Charles G. Griffith, Zadock Magruder, Samuel W. Magruder, Gerard Briscoe, Archibald Orme, Allen Bowie and Thomas S. Wootton being present—of the Lower District of this County of June 17th. It appears as follows in *The Maryland Gazette* (Ann), published in Annapolis, of the 20th: "That what may be recommended by a majority of Congress . . . we will, at the hazard of our lives and fortunes, support and maintain; and that every resolu-

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tion of convention, tending to separate this province from a majority of the colonies, without the consent of the people, is destructive to our internal safety, and big with public ruin."

⁸⁵ He was present in Congress certainly as late as June 25th; for he signs a letter dated Philadelphia on that day. He was not, however, reelected, July 4th; and the letter from Stone of July 12th (See note 51, chapter IX) implies that he had, *some-time prior thereto*, left for Maryland — doubtless immediately following the receipt (See note 29, *supra*) in Philadelphia of the news of the election.

⁸⁶ The following appears in *The Virginia Gazette* (C) of June 21st: "Monday the 1st of July is fixed upon to decide the grand question of AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, in General Congress."

⁸⁷ See the next paragraph.

⁸⁸ *The Maryland Journal*, etc., (Ba) (See note 63, chapter III) of June 26th contains the following: "QUERIES to the Freemen of Maryland. 1. Whether the instructions, given by the Convention of this Province to the Deputies in Congress, in December last, and renewed at the last Convention, ought not to be recalled, and the restrictions therein contained, removed? 2. Whether this Colony ought not to be united with the other Twelve Colonies, represented in Congress, and the Deputies of this Colony, *authorized and directed* to concur with the other Deputies in Congress, in declaring the United Colonies, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES . . . ?"

⁸⁹ *The Scots Magazine* (C) — published in *Edinburgh* — for August says: "A letter from on board the Fowey man of war, at Maryland, dated July 1, after speaking of the great confusion, noise, and clamour, in their meetings and councils, on the debates of a separation from the mother country, says, 'The whole eight eastern-shore counties were against independency; four of the western were for it, and the other four were against: so that

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in Maryland the division was twelve to four.'” This, however, must either be incorrect or refer to the vote in the Convention of Maryland on *May 21st* (See p. 68).

⁴⁰ See p. 68.

⁴¹ For *facsimile*, see *The Life and Works of John Adams*, vol. 3, p. 56.

⁴² See note 34, *supra*. *The Maryland Gazette* (Ann) of June 27th says: “At a very respectable meeting of the associators of Anne-Arundel county, held at West-River on Saturday the twenty-second instant, the following important questions were submitted to their consideration . . . 2dly. Whether the instructions that were imposed upon the delegates of this province in Congress, by the December and continued by the May sessions of Convention, should or should not be immediately rescinded by the present Convention, and the delegates in Congress instructed with discretionary powers of exercising their own judgments upon any question that may come under their consideration. Resolved unanimously in the affirmative . . .” The resolution of the *Upper District of Frederic County* — “entered into by the two Battalions of this District, and many other respectable inhabitants thereof, on the 28th and 29th of June” — declared that the Convention ought to be dissolved and a new one elected to carry out the resolve of Congress of May 15th and that “we will support the union of the Colonies with our lives and fortunes.” Talbot County wished to have the old instructions to the Delegates in Congress rescinded and the Delegates instructed to concur with the other Colonies “in forming such further compacts between the said Colonies, concluding such treaties with foreign kingdoms, and in adopting such other measures as shall be judged necessary for promoting the liberty, safety, and interest of America, and defeating the schemes and machinations of our enemies . . .” The Charles County instructions — “signed by a great number of the inhabi-

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tants of CHARLES county " — declared, as given in *The Maryland Gazette* (Ann) of July 4th, that they earnestly wished them "to move for, without loss of time, and endeavour to obtain positive instructions from the convention of Maryland to their delegates in congress, immediately to join the other colonies in declaring, that the United Colonies no longer owe allegiance to, nor are they dependant upon, the crown or parliament of Great-Britain, or any other power on earth, but are, for time to come, free and independent states . . ." The instructions "drawn up by conferees appointed by the several battalions of militia of Anne-Arundel county, and afterwards signed by a great number of the inhabitants of the county," which appeared in *The Maryland Gazette* (Ann and Ba) of July 18th, charged: "That you move for and endeavour to obtain a resolution in Convention . . . that the delegates of this colony be authorized and directed to concur with the other united colonies, or a majority of them, in Congress, in declaring the United Colonies free and independent states . . ."

⁴³ John Page, of *Virginia*, writes, to General Lee, July 12th: "The Marylanders were roused by the resolve of our Convention, and have lectured their Representatives so well, that they have unanimously voted for Independence —"

⁴⁴ It is evident that the people were not unanimous; for, in the middle of June, "Isaac Costin, with many others, went to their neighbours' houses, to inform them that Job Ingram and Barkley Townsend had come express from Lewistown, to let the people of Somerset County know that a large number of men were coming from Lewistown to compel them to assent to independency . . . Costin persuaded them to assemble at Merumsco Dams to oppose it, and . . . in consequence of the said report, Isaac Costin, with about two hundred people, did assemble at Merumsco Dams for the declared purpose of opposing independency." Indeed, see p. 68.

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⁴⁵ Not, however, it would seem, so early as Hopkins: see p. 54. See note 14, chapter III.

⁴⁶ He was elected, January 23d. On March 2d, he writes, from Philadelphia, to Weare: "I arrived here the 28th ultimo. The roads were so extremely bad it was impossible for me to get here sooner . . . My colleague [Bartlett] talks of leaving me in about a fortnight . . ." He signed the Declaration on parchment now in the Department of State. See note 115, chapter IX.

⁴⁷ See note 46, *supra*. He did not return to Philadelphia until May 17th, as shown by a letter from him of the 19th to Langdon: "Last Friday, I arrived here, all well."

⁴⁸ On July 9th (Also, see note 2, chapter II), Bartlett writes to Weare: "As we were so happy as to agree in sentiments with our constituents, it gave us the greater pleasure to concur with the Delegates of the other Colonies in the enclosed Declaration . . ." Also, see p. 221.

⁴⁹ Langdon replies from Portsmouth, June 24th (See *The Historical Magazine*, N, VI, 239): "Your kind favor of the 10th I've Recd . . . I like the Resolutions of Virginia well; they ever have been firm as Rocks; *near relations to the Yankees*. Our Colony no doubt will be for Independence, as I know of none who oppose it. Those who did some time since, and had like to have overset the Government, (and would most certainly have done it, had it not been for a few,) have all been appointed to some office, either in the Civil or Military Department, and those few who were worthy, entirely left out. Strange conduct this, by which the Houses have in great measure lost the confidence of the people . . . Should I be appointed Agent, I shall resign my seat in the House, if Desired by Congress." (For the reply to this letter of the 24th, see perhaps p. 221.)

⁵⁰ See note 49, *supra*, and pp. 134 and 270.

⁵¹ Bartlett (in a letter of July 1st, to Folsom) says: "[Gz] Your favor [See p. 134] of the 15th ult^o is come to hand I

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am glad to hear that Harmony Subsists in our Colony in the Grand american Cause . . . The Resolve of our Colony with regard to our Conduct in the affair of Independency Came to hand on Saturday, very Seasonably, as that Question was agreeable to order this Day taken up in a Committe of the whole House & every Colony fully represented ; thus much I can inform you that it was agreed to in Committe & I make no Doubt but that by next post I shall be able to send you a formal Declaration of Independency setting forth the reasons &c."

⁵² Also, see p. 44.

⁵³ See p. 54.

⁵⁴ Jefferson writes to William P. Gardner from Monticello, February 19, 1813: "[P] Your favor of the 13th has been duly received, together with . . . m^r Barralet's sketch of the ornaments proposed to accompany the Declaration of Independance contemplated by m^r Murray and yourself. I am too little versed in the art of Design to be able to offer any suggestions to the artist. as far as I am a judge, the composition appears to be judicious and well imagined. were I to hazard a suggestion it should be that m^r Hancock, as President of Congress should occupy the middle & principal place." See note 3, chapter VI. See p. 49.

Also, see note 69, chapter IX, though it must be remembered that Chase was absent from Congress for some time in 1776.

⁵⁵ See p. 109.

⁵⁶ Also, see a letter from Wolcott of June 11th, note 98, chapter IX ; and letters from John Adams of June 16th, 17th (?) and 24th, note 46, chapter IV, and pp. 128 and 130, respectively.

⁵⁷ Of course, New York was not.

⁵⁸ *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* (N) of this date contains the following by "Republicus": "EVERY moment that I reflect on our affairs, the more am I convinced of the necessity of a formal Declaration of Independance. Reconciliation is thought of now by none but knaves, fools and madmen ; and as we cannot offer

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terms of peace to Great-Britain, until, as other nations have done before us, we agree to call ourselves by some name, I shall rejoice to hear the title of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in order that we may be on a proper footing to negotiate a peace. Besides, the conditions of those brave fellows who have fallen into the enemy's hands as prisoners, and the risk which every man runs, who bears arms either by land or sea in the American cause, makes a declaration of independance absolutely necessary, because no proper cartel for an exchange of prisoners can take place while we remain dependants. It is some degree of comfort to a man, taken prisoner, that he belongs to some national power, is the subject of some state that will see after him. Oliver Cromwell would have sent a memorial as powerful as thunder to any King on earth, who dared to have used prisoners in the manner which ours have been. What is it that *we* have done in this matter? Nothing. We were subjects to Great-Britain, and must not do these things. Shame on your cowardly souls that do them not! You are not fit to govern. Were Britain to make a conquest of America, I would, for my own part, choose rather to be conquered as an independant state than as an acknowledged rebel. Some foreign powers might interpose for us in the first case, but they cannot in the latter, because the law of all nations is against us. Besides, the foreign European powers will not be long neutral, and unless we declare an independance, and send embassies to seek their friendship, Britain will be beforehand with us; for the moment that she finds that she cannot make a conquest of America by her own strength, she will endeavour to make an European affair of it. Upon the whole, we may be benefited by independance, but we cannot be hurt by it, and every man that is against it is a traitor."

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See note 14, chapter VI.

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Bishop White, of Christ Church, writes (See *The Life and Times of Bishop White* by Julius H. Ward): "I continued, as did all of us, to pray for the King until Sunday [June 30th] before the 4th of July, 1776. Within a short time after, I took the oath of allegiance to the United States, and have since remained faithful to it. My intentions were upright, and most seriously weighed." As for Rev. Jacob Duché, see p. 229.

⁶⁰ For the reply to this letter, see *Jay*, note 39, chapter IX. The reason he did not reply sooner would seem to be his absence from New York: see *ibid.*

CHAPTER VI

¹ Also, see note 50, chapter VII.

² Referring to his letter of August 2d.

³ He (John Adams) writes to Richard Rush, July 22, 1816:
"[Gz; -]"

"Jefferson is no more my Friend
Who dares to Independence to pretend
Which I was born to introduce
Refin'd it first and Shew'd its Use.

" . . .

"Why is not Dr Rush placed before Dr Franklin in the Temple of Fame? Because Cunning is a more powerful Divinity than Symplicity. Rush has done infinitely more good to America than Franklin. Both have deserved a high Rank among Benefactors to their Country and Mankind; but Rush by far the highest . . . James Otis, Sam. Adams, *John Hancock* William Livingston, John Dickinson, Richard Henry Lee and his Brothers and John Rutledge, &c &c &c have been plundered of their Merits Services Sacrifices and Suffererings and all have been conferred on Washington Hamilton and Ames . . . If you

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ever met with more Absurdity, Nonsense, Contradiction Envy Malice and Vanity in two Pages and an half I pray you to communicate where it is to be found to John Adams P. S. Look in the Journal of Congress 1774 for the Declaration of the Rights of the Colonies, and in the Journal of 1776. Month of May for a Resolution of Independency. Then consider Whether the Declaration of Independence of 4 July 1776 is any thing more than a juvenile declamation founded on those two Documents. Yet those two documents were drawn by the Fingers which now trembling write the Name of John Adams . . . P. S. Your Father was correct. In 1775 and 1776 I was considered by the Quakers and Proprietarians and by a Majority of the Whiggs of Pensylvania, as a Monster, who advocated Independence."

⁴ Jefferson was doubtless ignorant of Adams' *Autobiography*. This, as seen, was written in 1805 — seventeen years previous to the letter to Pickering. Also, see note 3, *supra*, and note 50, chapter VII.

⁵ Also, see his letter of July 1st to Fleming, note 3, chapter VII.

⁶ It was evidently submitted to Adams first: see *Appendix*, notes 48, 54, 65, 68, 81 and 88. Indeed, see *Appendix*, note 55.

⁷ Franklin writes to Washington, June 21st: "[N;—] I am just recovering from a severe Fit of the Gout, which has kept me from Congress & Company almost ever since you left us [June 5th], so that I know little of what has pass'd there, except that a Declaration of Independence is preparing." (He had been in bad health for some time: see notes 117 and 24, chapters III and V, respectively.)

⁸ See between pp. 144 and 145.

⁹ Also, see *Appendix*, p. 345. The papers of Jefferson were purchased of Thomas Jefferson Randolph, his executor, for \$20,000: see Act of Congress of August 12, 1848. The original

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"Rough draught" is now (framed) in the cabinet (See p. 292) on the east wall of the Library of the Department of State.

¹⁰ See between pp. 144 and 145 and *Appendix*, note 48.

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On March 17, 1817, Joseph Delaplaine wrote to Jefferson as follows: "[S] When I was with you [in June last] my Notes in my memorandum books ran thus, after you showed me the original draft of the Declaration of Independence—'. . . a committee of five were appointed to draft a declaration—Committee desired M^r Jefferson to pen it. M^r Adams & D^r Franklin looked at it.—M^r Adams inserted '*time after such dissolutions*', in lieu the '*invasion of the rights of the people*' Here my Notes appear confused, & I think I am not correct.—D^r Franklin '*but Scotch & foreign mercenaries to invade & deluge us in blood*,' & inserted '*destroy us*,' in lieu. M^r Adams defended it with all his might throughout.—Except the correction above stated, M^r Jefferson penned every word of the orig^l draft of the Dec: of Independence.'—Thus far my Notes. I beg you to set me right, If I am wrong & I believe I am with regard to the *alteration made by M^r Adams* But I believe I am correct as to the alteration made by D^r Franklin[.]"

Jefferson replied, April 12th: "[P] your statements of the corrections of the Declaration of Independence by D^r Franklin and mr Adams, are neither of them at all exact. I should think it better to say generally that the rough draught was communicated to those two gentlemen, who, each of them made 2. or 3. short and verbal alterations only. but even this is laying more stress on mere composition than it merits, for that alone was mine; the sentiments were of all America."

¹¹ This would seem to indicate that no changes were made after submitting the ("Rough") draft to Adams and to Franklin. See, however, *Appendix*, note 48.

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¹² We cannot find any trace of this copy. See notes 38 and 81, chapters VII and IX, respectively, and *Appendix*, p. 345.

¹³ See, however, *Appendix*, p. 344.

¹⁴ Moncure Daniel Conway — seemingly (still) considering “A Dialogue Between the Ghost of General Montgomery just arrived from the Elysian Fields; and an American Delegate, in a wood near Philadelphia” (See *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, collected and edited by Conway, vol. 1, p. 161), in which the “Ghost” speaks strongly in favor of independence and which, Conway says (See *ibid.*, note), was “Printed in pamphlet form about the time of the appointment by Congress of a Committee to draft a Declaration of Independence” — says (See *The Life of Thomas Paine*, etc., vol. 1, p. 80): “At this time Paine saw much of Jefferson, and there can be little doubt that the anti-slavery clause struck out of the Declaration was written by Paine, or by some one who had Paine’s anti-slavery essay before him.”

To substantiate his statement, he places the “anti-slavery clause” and extracts from “Paine’s anti-slavery essay” in concurrent columns.

Whether or not the statement is justified must always, so far as the concurrent columns are concerned, of course, remain a subject of individual opinion.

In considering the question, no one should lose sight, however, of the following facts: that Jefferson did not attend Congress until June 21, 1775, was absent during the recess from August 1st to September 5th and returned again to Virginia before the end of the year; that he did not come to Philadelphia in 1776 until May 14th; that the extracts quoted in the concurrent column are not from “A Dialogue”, etc., but from a communication from “A. B.” in the *Supplement to The Pennsylvania Journal*, etc., (PH) — published in Philadelphia — of March 8, 1775, before Jefferson came to Congress at all; and

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that *Common Sense* appeared, January 10, 1776, and that Paine himself writes (See *The Writings*, etc., vol. 1, p. 214, note): "In this state of political suspense the pamphlet *Common Sense* made its appearance, and the success it met with does not become me to mention. Dr. Franklin, Mr. Samuel and John Adams, were severally spoken of as the supposed author. I had not, at that time, the pleasure either of personally knowing or being known to the two last gentlemen [who had been much more regular in their attendance upon Congress than Jefferson]. The favour of Dr. Franklin's friendship I possessed in England . . ."

Conway does not say upon what he bases his statement that "At this time Paine saw much of Jefferson".

Also, "Paine's anti-slavery essay" should be read in its entirety (See *The Writings*, etc., vol. 1, p. 4), rather than merely the extracts given in *The Life*, etc.

¹⁵ See p. 178.

¹⁶ Jefferson himself, in a letter to Augustus B. Woodward, written at Monticello, April 3, 1825, as appears from what seems to be the original draft, (formerly in the Department of State) now in the Library of Congress, says: "the history to the Preamble to the latter [the Constitution] is this. I was then at Philadelphia at Congress; and knowing that the Convention of Virginia was engaged in forming a Plan of government, I turned my mind to the same subject, and drew a sketch or outline of a constitution, with a preamble, which I sent to Mr Pendleton, president of the Convention, on the mere possibility that it might suggest something worth incorporation into that before the Convention. He [Jefferson's memory was evidently at fault: see p. 148] informed me afterwards by letter that he received it on the day on which the Committee of the whole had reported to the House the plan they had agreed to, that that had been so long in hand, so disputed inch by inch, and the subject of so

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much altercation and debate, that they were worried with the contentions it had produced, and could not, from mere lassitude, have been induced to open the instrument again; but that, being pleased with the Preamble to mine, they adopted it in the House by way of amendment to the Report of the Committee; and thus my Preamble became tacked to the work of George Mason. the Constitution, with the preamble, was passed on the 29th of June, and the Commēe of Congress had only the day before that reported to that body the Draught of the Declaration of Independance. the fact is that that preamble was prior in composition to the Declaration, and both having the same object, of justifying our separation from Great Britain, they used necessarily the same materials of justification: and hence their similitude."

¹⁷ See note 27, *post*.

¹⁸ It must be borne in mind that only the resolution relating to independence is given on pp. 78 and 79. See, however, between pp. 80 and 81.

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On May 24th, Pendleton writes to Jefferson: "[S] You'l have seen y^r Instructions to propose Independance and our resolutions to form a Government. The Political Cooks are busy in preparing the dish, and as Col^o Mason seems to have the ascendancy in the great work, I have Sanguine hopes it will be framed so as to Answer its end . . ."

¹⁹ See note 3, chapter VII.

²⁰ This might create a doubt as to Harrison's presence in Congress on August 2d; but John Adams' *debates* show that he spoke on that day. Indeed, Jefferson writes *from Philadelphia*, August 9th: "[K] As Col. Harrison was about to have some things packed, I set out upon the execution of your glass commission"; and at the bottom of the letter is: "Francis Eppes, Esq., At the Forest, By favor of Col. Harrison."

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Harrison writes from "[N] Virg^a Sep^r 5th 1776" to Robert Morris: "I wrote you by last post . . . The ease and tranquility I enjoy here, and the Company of my Friends and Family, have removed those alarming Pains in the Head that afflicted me in Philad^a and I am in perfect Health which I know will give you Pleasure I have not even a Wish to return again into Public Business, except such as arise from Friendship, I often think on the Happy Hours I have spent in the agreeable Society of your Pleasant Villa, and if any thing carries me again into the Buisy Scenes of Politics it will be the Hopes of renewing my acquaintance with those Worthy Friends that surround that Hospitable Board . . . I am happy to find my Removal [See note 3, chapter VII] has given great Disgust to the Worthy part of my Country of all Degrees and Conditions, and I make not the least Doubt of their shewing a Proper Resentment when Opp^r offers—"

²¹ See *Annals*, etc.; also *The Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia* by Thompson Westcott; and also, most particularly, *The House*, etc., by Thomas Donaldson.

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Aside from the house mentioned in the text, the places claimed to be the place where Jefferson lived at the time he wrote the Declaration are the Indian Queen Inn, once located (but torn down in May, 1851) on the west side of Fourth Street, above Chestnut and near Market Street, it is stated; the brick building known as Kelly's Oyster House (For a photograph, see *The House*, etc., facing p. 62), Nos. 8 and 10 South Seventh Street, now just in the rear of the building occupied by the Penn National Bank, it is stated; the brick building (For a picture of it in 1776 — though see p. 154 —, see *Potter's*, etc., for May, 1876, p. 381; and, in 1883, *The House*, etc., facing p. 74), known at different times as No. 232 High Street and as No. 702 Market Street, torn down in February and March, 1883, it is stated — the site of which is now occupied by a part of the western half

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of the building used by the Penn National Bank; and the house mentioned in note 22, *post*.

²² George Ticknor Curtis, in *Life of Daniel Webster*, says that Webster visited Jefferson at Monticello in December, 1824, and gives a number of *notes* of things Jefferson then said, among which is the following: "(In reply to a question of Mr. Webster.) The Declaration of Independence was written in a house on the north side of Chestnut Street, between Third and Fourth — not a corner house. Heiskell's Tavern, in Fourth street, has been shown for it — (to Mr. Webster) — but this is not the house." As to the *notes* themselves, he (Curtis) gives the following statement (furnished to him, he says, on May 1, 1869, by the lady — then in Boston — who accompanied Webster on his visit): "They were written down, on the very evening on which we left Monticello, at a little tavern kept by a Mrs. Clark, where we stopped for the night . . . chiefly by Mrs. Ticknor, under the dictation of Mr. Webster and Mr. Ticknor . . . a sort of joint-stock contribution."

²³ Taken from what is evidently the original draft (formerly in the Department of State) now in the Library of Congress.

²⁴ Just when he moved to "Graaf's" (as well as when he left home; when he arrived in Philadelphia; where he lodged before so moving; and various other interesting facts) is shown by what is known as his "Account Book". This is *The Philadelphia Newest Almanack, For the Year of our Lord 1776*, etc., printed by Aitken — the entries, in Jefferson's own hand, being on pages left blank for the purpose. This shows as follows (and otherwise):

[Ms] May.

7. set out for Philadelphia.

14. got to Philadelphia.

23. took lodgings at Graaf's.

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7. *p^d* Randolph [See note 46, *post*] for 8. days
lodging 40/
p^d for a Relisher at Clarke's 2/
28. *p^d* for a Doll 2/
June. 1. *p^d* for seeing a monkey 1/
4. *p^d* Graaf one week's lodging 35/
7. *p^d* at Smith's dinner etc 5/6
p^d for shoes for Bob. 8/
8. *p^d* ferrēge for horses 4.
9. *p^d* for 7 washballs 10/6
p^d for stockings for Bob. 7/
p^d mrs Graaf one week's lodging 35/
10. *p^d* dinner at Smith's 6/
11. *p^d* for Window shutter rings £ 1-18-2
13. *p^d* dinner at Smith's 6/
17. *p^d* dinner at Smith's 7/6
18. *p^d* for a nest of trunks 7/6
p^d dinner at Smith's 6/6
19. *p^d* King for handling six spring bolts 30/
p^d Greentree for wine 6/
p^d Fox for 2 knives for myself 18/9
for 1. d^o for R. Harvie 12/6
20. *p^d* dinner at Smith's 7/
p^d Hugh Walker for waggonage of sundries last
winter to head of Elk 27/6
p^d Aitkin for lining a map 5/
22. *p^d* dinner at Smith's 7/6
p^d Sparhawk for *p^r* spurs 25/
23. *p^d* Graaf 2. weeks lodging etc £ 3-10.
24. *p^d* dinner at Smith's 5/6
25. *p^d* dinner at Smith's 5/
p^d for a straw hat 10/

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- 27. pd Byrne for 6 weeks shaving & dressing 30/
- 28. pd mrs Lovemore washing in full 39/9
- 30. pd Sparhawk for a pencil 1/6 a map 7/6
pd Dinner at Smith's 8/6
- 31. pd expences riding 2/4
- July 1. pd ferrige of horses 8^d
- 3. pd Towne for Doctor Gilmer 7/6
pd d^r for myself 7/6
pd Smith in full 15/6
- 4. pd Sparhawk for a thermometer £ 3-15
pd for 7 pr women's gloves 27/
gave in charity 1/6
- 5. pd for a quire of paper 2/6
- 6. pd mr Braxton for 4 pr cotton cards 48/
pd for pamphlets 6/
pd for beer 1/
- Aug. 8.
pd Hiltzheimer in full to tomorrow £ 11-15-6
- 29. pd mrs Graaf in full to this day £ 6-5
- Sep. 3.
left Philadelphia

(We know that Jefferson bought a "German Grammar" on August 3d.)

²⁶ For a picture (?), see *History of Philadelphia* by J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, vol. 1, p. 320, *The Declaration of Independence* by William H. Michael, facing p. 4, and *The House*, etc., by Donaldson, *Frontispiece*.

²⁶ This was changed from a 5.

²⁷ Jefferson writes, to Nelson from Philadelphia, May 17, 1776 (though the letter was not sent until on or after the 19th): "[T; —] I arrived here last Tuesday [the 14th] after being detained hence six weeks longer than I intended by a malady

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of which Gilmer can inform you . . . should our Convention propose to establish now a form of government perhaps it might be agreeable to recall for a short time their delegates. it is a work of the most interesting nature and such as every individual would wish to have his voice in. in truth it is the whole object of the present controversy; for should a bad government be instituted for us in future it had been as well to have accepted at first the bad one offered to us from beyond the water without the risk & expence of contest. but this I mention to you in confidence, as in our situation, a hint to any other is too delicate however anxiously interesting the subject is to our feelings . . . I am at present in our *old* lodgings tho' I think, as the excessive heats of the city are coming on fast, to endeavour to get lodgings in the skirts of the town where I may have the benefit of a freely circulating air . . . I am here in the same uneasy anxious state in which I was last fall without m^{rs} Jefferson who could not come with me. I wish much to see you here, yet hope you will contrive to bring on as early as you can in convention the great questions of the session. I suppose they will tell us what to say on the subject of independence, but hope respect will be expressed to the right of opinion in other colonies who may happen to differ from them. when at home I took great pains to enquire into the sentiments of the people on that head. in the upper counties I think I may safely say nine out of ten are for it. P. S. in the other colonies who have instituted government they recalled their delegates leaving only one or two to give information to Congress of matters which relate to their country particularly, & giving them a vote during the interval of absence."

See note 24, *supra*.

²⁸ This postscript appears at the bottom of what, as stated, is evidently the original draft of the letter. It is in Jefferson's handwriting, and was added evidently after he had made a clean copy of the letter to send but before sending it.

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²⁹ This is evidenced by the addition by Jefferson of the "following" — headed: "Th: Jefferson to D: Mease. Monticello. Sep. 20." — to what, as stated, is evidently the original draft of his letter of the 16th, below the copy of the postscript thereto.

³⁰ See note 29, *supra*.

³¹ What we consider the original draft of Jefferson's letter of the 16th, the copy of the postscript thereto, the copy of his letter of the 20th and this note are on one page. (See *The Declaration of Independence* by Michael, between pp. 4 and 5.)

³² It will readily be seen that this agrees with Jefferson's own statement. The "N. E. corner house" "of it's square" would, of course, be "at the S. W. corner of Market and 7th streets".

³³ Thomas Donaldson, in speaking of this, says (See *The House*, etc.): "I confirmed the correctness of the above in March, 1883, while the building No. 700 Market street was being demolished. The bricks in the space of the original side door on Seventh street were of a different kind from those in the body of the building. The dimensions of the two second story rooms were about 48 feet 9 inches by 14 feet 6 inches. The joists filling in the original hallway (stairs) were of another kind than those of the rest of the floor. The Gratz brothers, Simon and Hyman, who bought the house No. 230 High street, afterward No. 700 Market street, and also Nos. 232 High street and 234 High street, afterward Nos. 702 and 704 Market street, all adjoining in 1798, added the fourth story to No. 230 High street (No. 700 Market street) the Declaration house and to the others. They also walled up the side entrance door of No. 700 Market street the house in which Mr. Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence, and removed the cross stairway. An entrance to the second story was afterwards placed in the south end of the building on Seventh street and this remained until 1883. There was, at one time, a stairway to the second, third and fourth floors from Market street and on the west side

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of the building. The joists were cut all the way up and the old trimmer was in sight in 1883. Such a front stairway was common to stores on Market street in early days."

Indeed, in *The Philadelphia Directory* for 1791, we find that Jacob Hiltzheimer (who owned what is here referred to as "No. 230 High street, afterward No. 700 Market street" before Simon and Hyman Gratz: see note 43, *post*) then resided at No. 1 South Seventh Street.

⁸⁴ A picture (?) of the house in 1852 is to be found in *History of Philadelphia* by Scharf and Westcott, p. 309 (and in *The House*, etc., by Donaldson, facing p. 66); and photographs of it in 1854 and 1857, in *The House*, etc., facing pp. 68 and 70, respectively.

⁸⁵ It will be remembered that Mease says that Graff told him the same thing in 1825.

⁸⁶ For a sketch of the house at this time, see *Harper's Weekly* of April 14, 1883 (and *The House*, etc., by Donaldson, facing p. 76).

⁸⁷ Only a little over half of the bronze tablet placed to mark the spot and now on the front of the building occupied by the Penn National Bank (For a photograph, see *The House*, etc., by Donaldson, facing p. 92) rests over the lot formerly occupied by the house in which Jefferson lived — the remaining portion being over the lot of a house, known at different times as No. 232 High Street and No. 702 Market Street, built in 1796.

⁸⁸ See *The House*, etc., by Donaldson.

⁸⁹ For a facsimile of the bill, see *The House*, etc., by Donaldson, facing p. 80.

⁴⁰ For a photograph, see *The House*, etc., by Donaldson, p. 94.

⁴¹ Thomas Blaine Donaldson, son of Thomas C. Donaldson, deceased, writes us, however, under date of January 23, 1901: "The lot, on which the rough material of the house lay for many years, was next to a house which we own at 877 Preston Street, West Philadelphia . . . Last summer, a year, 1899, I had the lot stripped of wagon loads of trash until the Jefferson

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House material was uncovered. To our dismay, we found that vandals had carried off much of good and bad. The corner closet was not there, neither were the stairs and rails. All that we now have is in our back yard at 326 N. 39 Street. It simply includes some frames, short joists and yet, best of all, a number of the stone keystone caps which you will notice over the windows . . . They are white stone and about 5 feet long."

⁴² He very likely here refers to "Where the Declaration of Independence was written", in *Potter's*, etc., (C and N) for May, 1876.

At least, this claims to prove that "No. 702" and not "No. 700" was built first and that, therefore, "No. 702" was the house in which Jefferson lived.

We cannot, however, agree with the writer's deductions.

The facts (of record) which he gives seem to us to be wholly consistent with Donaldson's claim (and with the supporting evidence of the facts given in note 43, *post*).

They are as follows:

On June 1, 1775, Edmund Physick and wife deeded to Jacob Graff, Jr., "'Bricklayer'", certain land on the "'South Side of High Street and on the West Side of the seventh Street from Delaware . . . Containing in breadth on High Street aforesaid thirty two foot and in length or depth on the West Side of Seventh Street aforesaid One hundred and twenty four foot Bounded on the East by seventh street aforesaid on the South by a certain ten foot Alley extending one hundred and four feet in depth from Seventh Street aforesaid on the West by Ground of Hannah Flower and on the North by High Street aforesaid.'"

Graff, on July 24, 1777, sold the same land to Jacob Hiltzheimer (See note 43, *post*), "'Yeoman'", and, in the deed, said: "'And Whereas the said Jacob Graff hath erected a Brick Messuage or Tenement on the said described Lot or piece of Ground.'"

Hiltzheimer died intestate in 1801, leaving surviving him two

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sons and three daughters. His estate was, therefore, divided into five equal parts.

“ ‘One other like equal fifth part thereof in value to wit all that three story Messuage or Tenement and Lot or piece of ground thereto belonging marked in the aforesaid plan N° 1 situate on the south side of High street and West side of Delaware Seventh Street in the said City containing in Breadth east & west 16 feet & 8 inches and in length or depth North and South 90 feet Bounded westward by the Store and Lot marked N° 2 hereinbefore [hereinafter] assigned to Thomas W. Hiltzheimer,’ ” went to Mary Rodgers.

“ ‘One other equal fifth part in value to wit, All that three Story Tenement or Store and Lot or piece of Ground thereto belonging marked in the plan hereto annexed N° 2 situate on the south side of High Street at the distance of 16 feet 8 inches Westward from Delaware Seventh Street in the said city containing in breadth East and West fifteen feet and four inches and in length or depth North and South 90 feet bounded Eastward by the Messuage and Ground herein after [hereinbefore] allotted to Mary Rodgers Southward partly by a four feet wide Alley and partley by ground herein after allotted to Catherine Cox,’ ” went to Thomas W. Hiltzheimer.

Within eight months after this, Thomas W. Hiltzheimer became a bankrupt; and, on March 26, 1802, the assignees sold to Simon Gratz “ ‘A Certain Three Story Messuage or Store and Lot or piece of ground Situate on the South side of High Street in the City of Philadelphia Containing in breadth fifteen feet four inches and in length or depth Ninety feet bounded Eastward by a Messuage and Lot of Ground belonging to the said Simon Gratz . . .’ ”

Gratz had “already acquired by marriage” “No. 700 Market street”.

⁴⁸ We have other proof that “No. 702 Market street”

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was not built until after "No. 700 Market street", viz., "[Sh] . . . the following entries in the private diary (manuscript) of Jacob Obillzheimer [Hiltzheimer], who bought the house at the southwest corner of Seventh and Market Streets in 1777: '1796, January 10. Cloudy forenoon. Edward Wells came to see me; conversed with each other concerning the house he is to build for me next spring, in Market Street, adjoining the southwest corner of Seventh and Market Streets.' '1796, April 11 . . . Mr. Barge laid the foundation-stone at the house I am going to build adjoining the southwest corner of Seventh and Market Streets.'"

Also, see note 33, *supra*.

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The fact that Hiltzheimer here speaks of what was to become known as No. 232 High Street (afterward No. 702 Market Street) as a "house" and that in 1801 (See note 42, *supra*) the building upon the lot *next* to the corner was a "Tenement or Store", we think, does not prove that they were not the same. Indeed, the same private diary (manuscript) says (also): "[Sh] '1796, July 9 . . . Had the raising supper on the second floor of the house adjoining the house at the southwest corner of Market and Seventh Streets, which was begun in April last, intended for a store.'"

⁴⁴ Of course, we refer here to the "Rough draught". He doubtless wrote upon this desk also all of the other drafts which he made.

⁴⁵ It was at the Exposition at Buffalo in 1901.

For a picture of it, see *The Declaration of Independence* by Michael, between pp. 6 and 7.

⁴⁶ According to Jefferson's "Account Book" (See note 24, *supra*), which ought, we think, to be considered better evidence than this letter, he lodged first with Randolph — at his old quarters (See note 27, *supra*).

⁴⁷ See note 118, chapter III.

⁴⁸ See *The Declaration of Independence* by Michael, facing p. 8.

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⁴⁹ As to whether or not R. R. Livingston was present, see note 15, chapter VIII.

⁵⁰ See note 12, *supra*. The three drafts (*d*, *e* and *f*) given in the *Appendix*, p. 306, or perhaps more particularly the draft (See *Appendix*, p. 344) sent to R. H. Lee, however, show the wording of this draft.

CHAPTER VII

¹ See note 24, chapter VI.

² There is a paper (See facing p. 164) (formerly in the Department of State) in the Library of Congress which, without doubt, is the original of this resolution (with the votes in *Congress* on July 2^d — in the handwriting of Hancock — endorsed thereon). The resolution is in the handwriting of Thomson and reads (with the endorsements, of which certainly also “The resolution for independancy Agreed to July 2^d 1776” is in his handwriting) as follows :

[S] The Com^{os} of the whole Congress to whom was referred the resolution and ~~sepe~~ the *Declaration* respecting independence. —

Resolved

That these ^{united} colonies are and of right ought to be free and independant states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the british crown and that all political connection between them and the state of great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved

July Report &c. July 2 — 1776.

N^o 5 } The resolution for
independancy

Agreed to July 2^d 1776

Mary ^d	Georgia	S ^o Car ^a	N Car ^a	Virginia ^a	Delaw ^e	Penn ^a	N Jersey	Connect ^t	R ^d Ind ^a	Mass.	N H ^t
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A
N

(The last line under “A” is blurred. New York, it will be remembered, did not vote.)

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⁸ Jefferson, in a letter of this date to William Fleming, says :
“[M] Your’s of 22d. June came to hand this morning . . . General Howe with some ships (we know not how many) is arrived at the Hook, and, as is said, has landed some horse on the Jersey shore . . . I wish you had depended on yourself rather than others for giving me an account of the late nomination [on June 20th] of delegates. I have no other state of it but the number of votes for each person. the omission of Harrison and Braxton and my being next to the lag give me some alarm. it is a painful situation to be 300. miles from one’s country, and thereby open to secret assassination without a possibility of self-defence. I am willing to hope nothing of this kind has been done in my case, and yet I cannot be easy. if any doubt has arisen as to me, my country will have my political creed in the form of a ‘Declaration’ &c. which I was lately directed to draw. this will give decisive proof that my own sentiment concurred with the vote they instructed us to give. had the post been to go a day later we might have been at liberty [See note 5, *post*] to communicate this whole matter. July. 2. I have kept open my letter till this morning but nothing more new.”

The letter of Fleming (referred to) — written at Williamsburg at 3 o’clock in the afternoon — says simply : “[S] As some of your friends have, no doubt, given you a history of our late election of delegates to serve in congress, & of the spirit (evil spirit I had almost said) and general proceedings of our convention, I shall, for the present, forbear any animadversions thereon . . .”

In replying to Jefferson, however, from Mt. Pleasant, July 27th, he says : “[S] . . . the reduction of the number to five was on motion of the governor, ‘first to save expense, and secondly, that we might have the assistance of the two supernumeraries in our own government, where gentlemen of abilities are much wanting.’ It met with little or no opposition. The appointment of Dr. Rickman physician & director general to the con-

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tinental hospital, when M^c Clurg, a native & regular bred physician, had been recommended by the committee of safety, & by gen^l Lee, gave very great offence, and was undoubtedly the cause of col^l Harrison's being left out, as it was generally supposed Rickman's appointment was through his influence. — M^r Braxton's address on government made him no friends in convention; and many reports were propagated in W^mburg (upon what grounds I know not) respecting the extreme imprudent, and inimical conduct of his lady, which, with many people, affected his political character exceedingly . . . As to your own case, you may make yourself perfectly easie, for you are as high in the estimation of your countrymen as ever, and the reason you were so late in the nomination was the mention of a letter you had written to D^r Gilmer, signifying your inclination to resign. He was out of town at the time of nomination, but desired another gentleman, if the matter came on in his absence, to inform the house he had received such a letter, which he accordingly did, and thereupon arose a debate whether or not your excuse should be admitted, some were of opinion you were jesting, & some that you were in earnest, and after near half an hour debate, they proceeded to ballot without a question being put, and many of your warmest friends (myself among the rest) erased your name out of their ballots, taking it for granted that your services in congress were to be dispensed with, as the opposition grew faint toward the latter end of the debate. Had it not been for these circumstances, I much doubt whether there would have been three votes against you. Your letter to the president on the same subject [See *The History of Virginia*, etc., by John Burk (continued by Skelton Jones and Louis Hue Girardin), vol. 4, *Appendix*] appeared the next day, which would have been effectual, had it arrived in time; but as the nominations wer[e] over the house did not seem inclined to a new election . . .”

Also, see p. 215.

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Pendleton writes, August 10th, to Jefferson: "[S] I . . . Assent . . . readily . . . to your usefulness in the Representative body, where having the Pleasure of M^r Jefferson's Company [See note 27, chapter VI], I hope you 'l get cured of y^r wish to retire so early in life, from the memory of man, & exercise Y^r talents . . ."

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For a letter of Bartlett (of July 1st), see note 51, chapter V.

⁴ See note 32, chapter VIII.

⁵ John Adams writes to M^r Kean from Quincy, July 30, 1815: "[QyC] The most essential . . . debates & deliberations in Congress from 1774 to 1783 were all in secret, and are now lost forever. Mr Dickenson printed [He doubtless refers to Dickinson's "Vindication", *Appendix*, p. 353] a speech which he said he made in Congress against the declaration of Independence; but it appeared to me very different from that which you and I heard. Dr Witherspoon has published [See note 34, chapter III (?)] speeches, which he wrote before hand, and delivered Memoriter, as he did his sermons. But these I believe are the only speeches ever committed to writing. The orators, while I was in Congress from 1774 to 1778 appeared to me very universally extemporaneous, & I have never heard of any committed to writing before or after delivery."

He sent at the same time a similar letter to Jefferson.

Jefferson replied, August 10th: "[P] On the subject of the history of the American revolution, you ask who shall write it? who can write it? and who ever will be able to write it? nobody; except merely it's external facts, all it's councils, designs, and discussions having been conducted by Congress with closed doors, and no member, as far as I know, having even made notes of them. These, which are the life and soul of history must forever be unknown . . . I have said that no member of the old Congress, as far as I know, made notes of

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the discussions. I did not know of the speeches you mention of Dickinson and Witherspoon. but on the questions of Independance [on June 8th and 10th] and on the two articles of Confederation respectively taxes & voting I took minutes [See *Appendix*, p. 295] of the heads of arguments. on the first I threw all into one mass, without ascribing to the speakers their respective arguments . . . but the whole of my notes on the question of independance does not occupy more than 5 pages, such as of this letter . . . they have never been communicated to anyone [His memory was at fault: see *Appendix*, p. 352]."

Jefferson failed to take any notes of this final debate in the committee of the whole, probably because of his notes of the debate in June.

Why we do not find accounts of the debates in private correspondence is shown by the *secret domestic* Journal, for November 9, 1775: "[S] Resolved That every member of this Congress considers himself under the ties of virtue honor and love of his country not to divulge directly or indirectly any matter or thing agitated or debated in Congress before the same shall have been determined without leave of the Congress; nor any matter or thing determined in Congress, which a majority of the Congress shall order to be kept secret . . ."

⁶ There would seem to be no doubt that he believed firmly in what he said. (See p. 38; note 23, chapter IV; note 8, *post*; and his "Vindication," *Appendix*, p. 353.) Indeed, on August 10th, he writes, from Elizabethtown, to Charles Thomson: "[E] As for myself, I can form no idea of a more noble fate than . . . after cheerfully and deliberately sacrificing my popularity and all the emoluments I might certainly have derived from it to principle . . . than willingly to resign my life, if Divine Providence shall please so to dispose of me, for the defence [See *Appendix*, p. 358] and happiness of those unkind countrymen whom I cannot forbear to esteem as fellow-citizens amidst their fury against me";

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and Thomson replies, from Summerville, August 16th: "[E] I know the rectitude of your heart and the honesty and uprightness of your intentions . . . Consider, I beseech you, and do justice to your 'unkind countrymen.' They did not desert you. You left them. Possibly they were wrong in quickening their march and advancing to the goal with such rapid speed. They thought they were right, and the only 'fury' they showed against you was to choose other leaders [See p. 192] to conduct them." Also, see pp. 38 and 191.

⁷ See *Appendix*, p. 353 (and note 5, *supra*).

⁸ Bancroft says that Adams spoke first.

It seems very likely that Bancroft based his statement upon the following (beginning on page 79 of what is entitled "[Rid] Anecdotes — facts Characters &c.") in the handwriting of Rush (who, however, we must remember, was not present): "M^r Jⁿ° Dickinson possessed great political integrity in every stage of the controversy, but wanted political fortitude. In the debates upon the declaration of Independance M^r Jⁿ° Adams began a Speech by invoking the God of Eloquence to inspire him upon such a copious Subject. M^r Dickinson began a reply to M^r Adams's Speech in the following words. 'The Gentleman who spoke last began by invoking a heathen God. I shall introduce what I have to say by humbly invoking the God of heaven & earth to inspire me with the knowledge & love of truth, and if what I am about to say in opposition to the declaration of Independance should be injurious in any degree to my country, I pray God to overrule my Arguments, and to direct us to such a decision upon this weighty question as Shall be most for the interest & happiness of the people committed to our care.' — I know added he further — that the tide of the prejudices & passions of the people at large is strongly in favor of Independance. I know too that I have acquired a character, and some popularity with them both of which I shall risk by opposing this favorite measure. But I

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had rather risk both, than Speak, or vote contrary to the dictates of my judgement and conscience'. —"

⁹ See note 5, *supra*.

¹⁰ See note 13, chapter V.

¹¹ This seems curious, in view of his opposition to the measure (See p. 116); but see p. 163.

¹² The last two sentences, in view of the fact that they are written very closely between the preceding and what follows (not given in the text), we think, were evidently an afterthought.

¹³ See *The Revolution of America* by Abbe Raynal.

¹⁴ These would seem to disprove the statement, in his letter to Mercy Warren and in his *Autobiography*, that he thought there would be no debate. See p. 348.

¹⁵ See p. 131.

¹⁶ See, to the same effect, a letter of Samuel Adams, p. 223.

¹⁷ For Chase's reply, see note 69, chapter IX.

¹⁸ See p. 124 and note 13, chapter V.

¹⁹ See note 100, chapter III.

²⁰ See note 54, chapter V.

²¹ See note 22, chapter VI.

²² Also, see note 24, chapter IV.

²³ Bancroft, in describing the debate on this day, says: "Wilson of Pennsylvania could no longer agree with his colleague [Dickinson]. He had at an early day foreseen independence as the probable, though not the intended result of the contest; he had uniformly declared in his place, that he never would vote for it contrary to his instructions, nay, that he regarded it as something more than presumption to take a step of such importance without express instructions and authority. 'For,' said he, 'ought this act to be the act of four or five individuals, or should it be the act of the people of Pennsylvania?' But now that their authority was communicated [See p. 191] by the conference of committees [Also, see p. 189], he stood on very

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different ground." He does not, however, say directly that this is what Wilson said on this day ; and, indeed, we are very strongly inclined to think that the *entire* paragraph is based simply upon the *notes* of Jefferson (See p. 111), giving what Wilson, and others, said during the debates on June 8th and 10th, and on the fact that, on July 1st, Wilson voted, as M:Kean (See *Appendix*, p. 303) tells us, *for* independence. (See note 101, chapter III.)

²⁴ See Bancroft's and "The Birth of the American Republic," etc., in *Potter's*, etc., (N) for July, 1875. Also, see note 5, *supra*.

²⁵ Gerry writes, to Warren, July 2d: ". . . yesterday was agitated in Congress the great question of Independency; and as the facts are as well known at the Coffee-House of the city as in Congress, I may go on to inform you that, in a Committee of the whole House, it was carried by nine Colonies."

²⁶ For a letter of the New York Delegates and for a postscript of Jefferson both of which were written doubtless *before* Congress met for the day, see p. 185 and note 3, *supra*, respectively.

²⁷ See note 2, *supra*.

²⁸ For a note of Wisner written *following* the adoption, see p. 186.

²⁹ M:Kean says (See p. 193) that Rodney arrived on the 4th.

Jefferson, however, is evidently correct ; for a paper, already referred to (See note 2, *supra*), (formerly in the Department of State) now in the Library of Congress indicates that Delaware voted aye on the 2d — which she could not have done, had Rodney been absent. Also, see Rodney's letter, p. 222.

Indeed, M:Kean's own language, in his letter (See *Appendix*, p. 301) of August 22, 1813, to Cæsar Augustus Rodney, would seem to prove that he is mistaken in the date ; for the vote upon the *Declaration* itself, upon the 4th, must have been taken at least as late as the *afternoon* (See p. 169 and *Appendix*, p. 297), while the vote in Congress on the 2d, upon the *resolution* adopted by the

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committee of the whole on the 1st, seems to have been taken the first thing in the *morning* (See p. 165 and *Appendix*, pp. 296 and 297). Also, see note 59, *post*.

⁸⁰ This, M:Kean tells us (See p. 193), was in consequence of an express sent to Rodney *by him*, at his own expense.

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See notes 8 and 44, chapter IX. Also, Rodney must, it would seem, have known of the instructions (See p. 125) of his Colony. One might, therefore, ask why he did not attend on July 1st *of his own accord*. Can he have supposed that Read would, following the removal of the former restrictions, vote *for* independence; or did he desire to avoid, if possible, breaking with his former friends; or did he think the measure would be carried without the vote of Delaware?

⁸¹ Ebenezer Hazard writes from New York — *three days later* — to Gates: “[NY] Since my last the British Fleet has arrived, — about 70 Sail are within the Narrows, at the *watering* Place, under Staten Island Shore. They have landed their Men, and taken Possession of Staten Island, Cattle Tories & all . . . It was last night reported at Coffee House, and I believe the Report may be depended on, that the Congress had determined upon a Declaration of Independence; & that the Vote was unanimous, except New York, whose Delegates not being instructed, could not vote. Our new Convention meets next Monday, & I think will doubtless concur with the other Colonies. — The Philad^a Post is not yet come in . . .”

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Marshall, in his *Diary*, writes simply: “This day, the Continental Congress declared the United States Free and Independent States.”

See note 28, chapter VIII.

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The newspapers (with one exception) also — differing very greatly from the newspapers of to-day — merely announced the *news*, without comment.

The Pennsylvania Evening Post (A, C and N), of the 2d,— the first to give to the Colonists the tidings — says: “This day the CONTINENTAL CONGRESS declared the UNITED COLONIES FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES.” See facing p. 166.

The Pennsylvania Gazette (C), of the 3d, contains a similarly curt announcement: “Yesterday the CONTINENTAL CONGRESS declared the UNITED COLONIES FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES.” (The same paper contains the following advertisement: “TO BE SOLD, A DUTCH servant GIRL, healthy, strong and good natured, has between 5 and 6 years to serve. The reason of her master’s parting with her will be honestly told to any person inclining to purchase. Enquire of *Jacob Hinkle*, at the sign of the Spread Eagle, or *Philip Upright*, at the sign of the Blue Ball, both on Lancaster road.”)

The New-York Gazette: and the Weekly Mercury (C), of the 8th, says (as a communication from Philadelphia, dated the 3d): “Yesterday the CONGRESS unanimously Resolved to declare the *United Colonies* FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES.”

The New-England Chronicle (MsS), of the 11th, says: “We are assured, that on July the Second, the Congress voted for INDEPENDENCY, not one Colony dissenting; but the Delegates of New-York remained neuter, for want of being instructed on the Head.”

The Boston-Gazette, etc., (Bos), of the 15th, says (as a like communication): “Yesterday the CONGRESS unanimously Resolved to declare the *United Colonies* FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES.”

The Freeman’s Journal or New-Hampshire Gazette (Con), of

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the 13th, says (as a communication from Boston of the 11th): "We are assured that on July the 2d, the Congress voted for INDEPENDENCY, not one colony dissenting; but the delegates of New-York remained neuter, for want of being instructed on the head."

The one exception was *The Massachusetts Spy Or, American Oracle of Liberty*, published in Worcester by W. Stearns and D. Bigelow. In its issue (T), of the 10th, it says: "It is reported that the Honorable Continental Congress have declared the American Colonies INDEPENDENT of that Monster of imperious domination and cruelty — Great Britain! Which we hope is true."

⁸² The copies made at the time so indicate. The originals also are so dated. On the 14th, Mrs. Adams, however, acknowledged (See *Appendix*, p. 349) his "two letters dated 3d and 4th of July"; and, on the 23d, in replying to this, Adams himself wrote: "[Qy] Since the letters of July 3^d and 4th which you say you have rec^d I have written to you of the following dates . . .": and we find no letter (or copy) extant of the 4th.

⁸³ *Report of the Commission to locate the Site of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*, vol. I, p. 405, (1896) says: "Fort Horn was erected on a high flat extending out to the river and commanding a good view of the river up and down, as well as the north side of the river; is about midway between Pine and McElhattan Stations on the P. & E. R. R., west of Fort Antes . . . One of the most remarkable incidents of Revolutionary times — an incident which stands, so far as known, without its counterpart in the history of the struggle of any people for liberty and independence, occurred within sight of Horn's fort, but across the river on the Indian land. This was what is known as the 'Pine Creek Declaration of Independence.' The question of the colonies throwing off the yoke of Great Britain and setting up business for themselves, had been much discussed, both in and out

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of Congress. The hardy Scotch Irish settlers on both sides of the river, in the vicinity of Horn's bore little love for the mother country. The majority of them had been forced to leave their native land to seek a home where they would be free from religious oppression — where they could worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. They were all patriots in the broadest sense of the term, and a loyalist or tory would not have been tolerated in their midst. They yearned for independence, and when the discussion of the subject waxed warm they resolved on calling a public meeting to give formal expression to their views. Accordingly, on the 4th day of July, 1776, the meeting, assembled on the Pine creek plains and a resolution was passed, declaring themselves free and independent of Great Britain. The remarkable feature of this meeting was that the Pine creek resolution was passed on the same day that a similar resolution was passed by the Continental Congress sitting in Philadelphia, more than two hundred miles away, and between whom there could be no communication for concert of action. It was, indeed, a remarkable coincident — remarkable in the fact that the Continental Congress and the squatter sovereigns on the West Branch should declare for freedom and independence about the same time. It is regretted that no written record of the meeting was preserved, showing who the officers were and giving the names of all those present. All that is known is what has been handed down by tradition. The following names of the participants have been preserved: Thomas, Francis and John Clark, Alexander Donaldson, William Campbell, Alexander Hamilton, John Jackson, Adam Carson, Henry McCracken, Adam DeWitt, Robert Love and Hugh Nichols. The meeting might have been held at the cabins of either John Jackson or Alexander Hamilton, as both were representative and patriotic men of the period. Several of these men afterwards perished at the hands of the savages; others fought in the Revolutionary

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army and assisted in achieving the independence which they had resolved the country should have. The majority of these men lived across the river from the fort on the Indian land, and they all received patents for the land they had pre-empted after the treaty and purchase of 1784, in consideration of their loyalty, patriotism and devotion to the struggling colonies. The name of Samuel Horn is not found among those that have been handed down to us, but it may be safely inferred that the man who was sufficiently patriotic to build a stockade fort for the protection of the neighborhood in which these men lived, was a sympathizer, if not a participant, in the Pine creek movement for independence."

(Of course, see p. 166.)

⁸⁴ Randall, in the *Appendix to The Life of Thomas Jefferson*, says: "The following is from a letter to us from a familiar visitor at Monticello, General J. Spear Smith, of Maryland: 'Whilst the question of Independence was before Congress, it had its meetings near a livery stable. The members wore short breeches and silk stockings, and with handkerchief in hand, they were diligently employed in lashing the flies from their legs. So very vexatious was this annoyance, and so great an impatience did it arouse [in] the sufferers, that it hastened, if it did not aid, in inducing them to promptly affix their signatures to the great document, which gave birth to an empire republic. This anecdote I had from Mr. Jefferson, at Monticello, who seemed to enjoy it very much, as well as to give great credit to the influence of the flies. He told it with much glee, and seemed to retain a vivid recollection of the severity of the attack, from which the only relief was signing the paper, and flying from the scene.'"

³⁵ See facing p. 170.

⁸⁶ See note 39, *post*. For the wording, punctuation, etc., see *Appendix*, p. 306 *et seq.* (or facing p. 170).

⁸⁷ For the wording, punctuation etc., see *Appendix*, p. 306 *et seq.*

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⁸⁸ As we have seen, a half-page of the *rough* Journal was left blank and a printed copy of the Declaration was wafered onto it. Also, it seems certain that this broadside (See note 39, *post*) had issued by the 5th (and perhaps — Indeed, see *Appendix*, p. 349 — when Congress met for the day); for, on that day, as we shall see, Hancock sent a copy of the Declaration to the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, a copy to the Convention of New Jersey and a copy to Colonel Haslet and John Adams a copy and Gerry two copies to friends. It would seem likely, therefore, that the printer (Dunlap) was furnished the original draft before Congress (See p. 155), in the handwriting of Jefferson. This doubtless showed upon its face — probably in the handwriting of Harrison or Thomson — the amendments made by Congress. (If so, it would be not at all improbable that this draft was either lost or destroyed at this time. See, however, in this connection, note 81, chapter IX.)

⁸⁹ The printed copy of the Declaration wafered onto page 94 of the *rough* Journal (See p. 170) is one of these.

There are two other copies (one among the Washington papers: see note 40, chapter XI) in the Library of Congress, a copy in the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet now in the New York Public Library (Lenox), a copy in the Massachusetts Historical Society, a copy in the possession of John Boyd Thacher of Albany, a copy (?) in the possession of Mrs. Harrison of Philadelphia (See note 15, chapter XI) and a fragment of a copy in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (See *ibid.*).

(The copy referred to in "Colonel John Nixon" by Charles Henry Hart in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, I, 196, and in Catalogue No. 683, compiled by Stan. V. Henkels, p. 142, Hart writes us, he, Hart, withdrew and "afterward sold to Mrs. Charles C Harrison" and is the one now in her possession.)

The name of Hancock only of the signers, therefore, appeared upon the copies thus distributed by order of Congress.

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⁴⁰ That the Declaration was a *justification of the Revolution*, see "The Declaration of Independence" by William F. Dana in the *Harvard Law Review* (N) for January, 1900. See also *The Outlook* (C) for May, 1899. Also, see note 16, chapter VI.

⁴¹ *Henrich Millers Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote* (PH and Rid) of the 5th — the first newspaper to announce the Declaration — says (the first sentence in large type): "Gestern hat der Achtbare Congress dieses Vesten Landes die Vereinigten Colonien freye und Unabhängige Staaten erkläret. Die Declaration in Englisch ist jetzt in der Presse; sie ist datirt, den 4ten July, 1776, und wird heut oder morgen im druck erscheinen."

(We cannot tell from this language whether Miller is here referring to the broadside printed under the order of Congress by Dunlap, which issued, we think — See note 38, *supra* — on that day, or whether he is announcing a broadside to be issued *by himself*. The *German* may mean either. It would seem, however, that, if *he* were issuing such a broadside, he would have announced it more in detail; while, at the same time, there is, among "Du Simitière's Scraps", in The Library Company of Philadelphia, Ridgeway Branch, a broadside which differs from any other that we have found and which does not bear the name of any printer. This is headed: "In CONGRESS, July 4, 1776. | A Declaration by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES | of America, in General Congress assembled." The body of the instrument is in two columns, separated by two lines. At the bottom of the second column is the usual printed attestation of Hancock and Thomson.)

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For the names and dates of the newspapers, etc., which *printed* the Declaration, see note 42, *post*; pp. 232 and 233; and notes 6, 50, 74, 85, 105 and 114, chapter XI.

⁴² The Declaration appears in *The Scots Magazine* (C) — published in Edinburgh — for August. A note-reference therein

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(See p. 233) to these words says: "In what are they created equal? Is it in size, strength, understanding, figure, moral or civil accomplishments, or situation of life? Every ploughman knows that they are not created equal in any of these. All men, it is true, are equally created: but what is this to the purpose? It certainly is no reason why the Americans should turn rebels, because the people of G. Britain are their fellow-creatures, *i. e.* are created as well as themselves. It may be a reason why they should not rebel, but most indisputably is none why they should. They therefore have introduced their self-evident truth, either through ignorance, or by design, with the self-evident falsehood: since I will defy any American rebel, or any of their patriotic retainers here in England, to point out to me any two men throughout the whole world of whom it may with truth be said, that they were created equal."

⁴⁸ The Declaration appears in *The Scots Magazine* (C) — published in Edinburgh — for August. A note-reference therein (See p. 233) to these words says: "The meaning of these words the Congress appear not at all to understand; among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Let us put some of these words together. — All men are endowed by their Creator with the unalienable right of life. How far they may be endowed with this unalienable right I do not say, but, sure I am, these gentry assume to themselves an unalienable right of talking nonsense. Was it ever heard since the introduction of blunders into the world, that life was a man's right? Life or animation is of the essence of human nature, and is that without which one is not a man; and therefore to call life a right, is to betray a total ignorance of the meaning of words. A living man *i. e.* a man with life, hath a right to a great many things; but to say that a man with life hath a right to be a man with life, is so purely American, that I believe the texture of no other brain upon the face of the earth will admit the idea. Whatever it may be, I have tried

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to make an idea out of it, but own I am unable. Prior to my having any right at all as a man, it is certain *I* must be a man, and such a man *I* certainly cannot be if I have no life; and therefore if it is said that I have a right to life, then the word *I* must signify something without life: and consequently, something without life must be supposed to have a property, which without life it is not possible it can have. Well, but they say, all men have not only a right to life, but an unalienable right. The word unalienable signifies that which is not alienable, and that which is not alienable is what can not be transferred so as to become another's; so that their unalienable right is a right which they cannot transfer to a broomstick or a cabbage-stalk; and because they cannot transfer their own lives from themselves to a cabbage-stalk, therefore they think it absolutely necessary that they should rebel; and, out of a decent respect to the opinions of mankind, alledge this as one of the causes which impels them to separate themselves from those to whom they owe obedience. The next assigned cause and ground of their rebellion is, that every man hath an unalienable right to liberty; and here the words, as it happens, are not nonsense; but then they are not true; slaves there are in America; and where there are slaves, their liberty is alienated. If the Creator hath endowed man with an unalienable right to liberty, no reason in the world will justify the abridgement of that liberty, and a man hath a right to do everything that he thinks proper without controul or restraint; and upon the same principle, there can be no such things as servants, subjects, or government of any kind whatsoever. In a word, every law that hath been in the world since the formation of Adam, gives the lie to this self-evident truth, (as they are pleased to term it); because every law, divine or human, that is or hath been in the world, is an abridgement of man's liberty. Their next self-evident truth and ground of rebellion is, that they have an unalienable right to the pursuit of happiness. The pur-

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suit of happiness an unalienable right! This surely is out-doing everything that went before. Put it into English: The pursuit of happiness is a right with which the Creator hath endowed me, and which can neither be taken from me, nor can I transfer it to another. Did ever any mortal alive hear of taking a pursuit of happiness from a man? What they possibly can mean by these words, I own, is beyond my comprehension. A man may take from me a horse or a cow, or I may alienate either of them from myself, as I may likewise anything that I have; but how that can be taken from me, or alienated, which I have not, must be left for the solution of some unborn Oedipus."

⁴⁴ For the meaning of this and the following "indictments", so to speak, see *The Declaration of Independence* by Herbert Friedenwald.

⁴⁵ Jefferson, as we have seen (See p. 171), tells us why this was cut out. See also p. 178.

⁴⁶ Jefferson, as we have seen (See p. 171), tells us why this was cut out.

⁴⁷ The rest of the Declaration seems to have been written with a sharper pen and the ink to be of a slightly lighter shade (brown) than the preceding portion of the *notes* following the word "to" (See *Appendix*, note 15) but still darker than the copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783.

⁴⁸ Jefferson tells us (See p. 178) why this was cut out.

⁴⁹ He seems to have indicated them on his "Rough draught": see between pp. 144 and 145. Also, see *Appendix*, pp. 348 and 349.

⁵⁰ R. H. Lee, the grandson, writes, from Washington to John Vaughan, August 11, 1836: "[A] I never had in my possession the original Mss Letter of M: Jefferson accompanying his draught of the Declaration of Independence — It had been lost. The copy of it, which I gave to the Am: Ph: Society is an authentic one; it came down from my grandfather, through his

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sons to me. I presented a copy of my Life of R. H. Lee to M^r Jefferson — He wrote me a polite note in return [See *Appendix*, p. 346]. He never hinted, that there was the slightest inaccuracy in the account of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence as I have given it in that work, or in any of the documents accompanying it."

To the same gentleman and from the same city, he writes, February 25, 1840: "[A] I have taken time to recollect all the incidents connected with the draught of the Declⁿ of Independence [See *Appendix*, p. 344] I presented to the Athenæum, as well [as] with the copy of M^r Jefferson's letter . . . I am, however, extremely sorry, that I have it not in my power to send you, the original Mss. letter of M^r Jefferson, which enclosed the draught of the Declⁿ of Indⁿ. It had unfortunately been lost, before the Mss of R. H. Lee came to my hands. As I learnt from my father and Uncle, who preserved my Grandfather's Mss. an exact copy had been made from the original letter, from an apprehension, that the original might be lost or worn out, as the Decl. had nearly been. Both these gentlemen told me they had often seen the original letter . . ."

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The letter as given in the text is taken from a copy in the Massachusetts Historical Society, in Boston, presented to the Society by Timothy Pickering.

This copy shows that the letter was superscribed: "To Richard Henry Lee esquire at Chantilly. Virginia. to be left at Fredericksburg for the Westmoreland rider. free Th: Jefferson [.] "

Accompanying this copy is a copy of the Declaration of Independence "as originally framed" and a statement and a memorandum by Pickering.

The statement, dated Wenham, November 29, 1811, says that the copy of the letter to Lee and that of the Declaration "[Ms] I have this day transcribed from my original copies made

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immediately from M^r. Jefferson's original letter to M^r. Lee, & from his copy of the Declaration inclosed therein. That original letter and that inclosed copy were in M^r. Jefferson's hand-writing, to me since familiarly known. In these, as well as in the original copies, I have been careful, in every word, letter and point, to conform to M^r. Jefferson's draughts; observing his peculiar[ities], in beginning sentences (excepting at the commencement of paragraphs) with small letters—writing *m^r* for M^r.—the short *s* where the long *f* was customarily used (the long *f* in *business*, in the letter to M^r. Lee is an exception of M^r. Jefferson's) and in departing from the standard spelling of some words. My original copies were made by me at the city of Washington on the 26th of February 1805. M^r. Jefferson's copy of the Declaration was indorsed—'Declaration of | Independence as re- | ported to Congress | July 1777.' which endorsement, Charles Lee Esq. informed me was the hand-writing of his father-in-law, Richard Henry Lee, who was a member of Congress in 1776, but had been called home on account of the sickness of his family, after he had moved the resolution relative to Independence."

The memorandum, similarly dated, says: "[M^s] Chief Justice Parsons, about two years since, told me, that M^r. J. Adams had recently informed him, that the committee chose him & M^r. Jefferson to draw the declaration; & that he referred it to M^r. Jefferson."

The Massachusetts Historical Society has also "my original copies".

As to the "original" copy of the Declaration of Independence, these "original copies" say: "City of Washington, Feb^r. 26. 1805. The preceeding Copy of the Declaration of Independence has this day been examined by me; and on a careful comparison with the original copy . . . I find that in every word, letter and point, written with black ink, it is an exact

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transcript of that copy . . . The words interlined and added to the Declaration in red ink, and the words inclosed with red lines, exhibit the declaration as amended in Congress, the words and letters inclosed in those red lines having been struck out."

How the Declaration "as originally framed" came into Pickering's possession at Washington does not appear.

See, however, note 50, chapter IV.

We know, however, that, on April 7, 1811, Henry Lee writes to Pickering, from Alexandria: "[Ms] I persuade myself I shall not be considered as intrusive when I suggest to you an opinion entertained here & which excites some disquietude among the nearest friends to R H Lee. Y^r late publication [See note 50, chapter IV] so far as it has gone, & y^r taking a second copy of the original draft of the declaration of independance before you left Congress has given rise to the opinion. We fear that you mean to introduce it in the publication now progressing & however we should rejoice to see the document alluded to, ushered into the world by a character we so sincerely respect yet there are many considerations in our judgement which forbid the present introduction. I will mention two. 1st We think it best becomes the gravity of history & that only it ought to appear in some historical work which treats of the revolution. 2^d We think it ought never to be seen in the present publication, which evidently refers to personal objects & cannot be exempt from the passions which such objects will always excite, & more especially as R H L & J. Adams were intimate friends"; that, on May 3d, Pickering replies, from Wenham: "[MsC] I duly received your letter of the 7th of April, expressing the apprehensions of the friends of Richard Henry Lee, that I purposed to introduce, in my present addresses to the people of the U. States, a copy of the original draught of the declaration of independence which had been sent to him by M^r Jefferson. I had no such intention; tho' I meant to refer to & describe it

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(as I have done), in order to show how little was his merit in compiling it. This I had prepared when your letter came to hand — At the same time I thought it not improbable that M^r Jefferson or some of his friends might now publish it; and he, it is likely, will do it, or suffer it to be done, if he retains for it the partiality manifested in his letter to M^r Lee. I did not take a second copy of the declaration as you suppose; but only of the letter which accompanied it, for the sake of the passage which I have quoted in my 7th number, & which I thought it possible I might want before I reached Boston: for in November last, at the request of the Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society at Boston, I had delivered to him my own perfectly exact copies . . . The originals were delivered to me without any condition in regard to copies; and others took them as well as I. I had no suspicion that any reserve was necessary. There is certainly no secret in regard to the declaration for it must be a public document now among the papers of the Old Congress”; and that, on May 12th, Henry Lee writes again to Pickering: “[Ms] The men who love M^r R H L are among y^r fastest friends & would have been delighted with y^r full use of the papers found in his cabinet whenever you thought proper, unless in a discussion which in its commencement partook in a considerable degree of personalitys & which applied forcibly [?] to M^r Adams his friend & fellow-laborer in days past.”

The Pickering papers contain also a letter from Charles Lee to Pickering, dated Alexandria, April 9, 1808, which says: “[Ms] In reply to your letter of the 4th I can say that in a conversation with M^r Adams while he was president relative to the declaration of independence he mentioned that the members of the committee appointed to prepare a declaration met as was usual and their ideas were freely exchanged and communicated on the subject. Some of them put notes in writing of their thoughts & that M^r Jefferson being the first named upon the

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Committee & being considered as having the best pen was charged with the duty of preparing a draft of a declaration of independence to be reported to Congress: that he had the benefit of the ideas of the committee and that many alterations were made in the draft after it was reported to Congress and he believed some alterations were made by the committee in the original draft laid before them by M^r. Jefferson, but of this latter he was not sure. This is the substance of what I heard from M^r. Adams to the best of my recollection and of what I mentioned to you a few years ago when we were conversing on the same topic . . . The resolutions were moved by M^r. Lee on the 7th June 1776 who having been assigned to this honorable office had postponed for some days his return to his sick family in Virginia in order that the resolutions might be moved by him and he has been heard to say that it was the most awful moment of his life when he rose to make the motion."

⁵¹ R. H. Lee, the *grandson* and biographer, and, doubtless following him, Paul Leicester Ford (See *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*) give this as follows: ". . . you, and not Wythe . . ." They are evidently mistaken. See note 107, chapter IX.

⁵² Also, see p. 145.

⁵³ He did not take part in the debates: see p. 145.

⁵⁴ See *Appendix*, pp. 349, 344 and 350, respectively.

⁵⁵ See the preceding portion of this letter, p. 142.

⁵⁶ Jefferson's *notes*, as we have seen, say: "the debates . . . were, in the evening of the last [the 4th], closed . . ."

⁵⁷ A poem — called "Independence Bell — July 4, 1776" — commemorative of the event here detailed is to be found in *The Franklin Fifth Reader* by G. S. Hillard. Also, see *The Legends of the American Revolution* by George Lippard.

⁵⁸ *The Scots Magazine* (C) — published in Edinburgh — for August contains the following: "A letter from Philadelphia says, 'The 4th of July, 1776, the Americans appointed as a day of

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fasting and prayer, preparatory to their dedicating their country to God; which was done in the following manner: The Congress being assembled, after having declared America independent, they had a crown placed on a Bible, which by prayer and solemn devotion they offered to God. This religious ceremony being ended, they divided the crown into thirteen parts, each of the United Provinces taking a part.' ”

The Gentlemen Magazine, and Historical Chronicle (C) — published in London — for September is equally incorrect in another regard. It says: “Letters, seemingly authentic, inform, that the 4th of July was set apart, throughout the Colonies, by order of the American Congress, as a day of fasting and prayer, preparatory to their dedicating their country to God. This is the more probable, as they have all along prefaced their operations with an appeal to the Divine Being; but the account of the ceremony of laying a Crown on the Bible, and dividing it into 13 parts, wants confirmation.”

#

Memoirs of his Own Time by Graydon, p. 307, foot-note, (1846) gives a purported speech of Witherspoon on this day, stated to be quoted from a speech of Rev. S. S. Templeton. Certainly, whoever it was who worded the extract (stated to be) quoted from Rev. S. S. Templeton was not acquainted with the history of the adoption of the Declaration.

⁶⁰ This would seem very improbable, if, as M:Kean states (See *Appendix*, p. 300), the 4th of July was a rainy day. We believe, however, that M:Kean is mistaken, and that it was the 2d of July and not the 4th that was inclement; for the day which seems to have impressed itself most strongly upon *his* mind was the day when Rodney returned from Delaware, and *this*, we believe (See note 29, *supra*), was the 2d of July, and *not* the 4th, as M:Kean states.

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Fully a year, if not longer, after writing the above portion of this note (and note 29, *supra*; and notes 11, 12 and 13, chapter IX), during which time we were ever on the lookout for some contemporaneous statement to prove or disprove our conclusion, we noticed in the *Preface of Extracts from the Diary of Christopher Marshall* (the body of which we had conned repeatedly) that now and again statements as to the weather had been left out of the (printed) *Extracts*, etc. We, therefore, immediately wrote to John W. Jordan, Librarian of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, for such statements, if any, under dates of July 2d and 4th (etc.) in *Marshall's original MS.*, with the results shown at pp. 165 and 169 (and pp. 156 and 168 and note 79, chapter IX).

#

We do not wish to be understood to mean that this proves Lossing's statement (given in the text) correct.

⁶⁰ This bell bears the following :

Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto
all the Inhabitants thereof

Lev X X V X.

By Order of the Assembly of the Province of
Pennsylvania for the State House in Philad^a

Pass and Stow

Philad^a

MDCCLIII

Lossing says : "[H] In 1752, a bell for the State House was imported from England. On the first trial-ringing, after its arrival, it was cracked. It was recast . . . in 1753, under the direction of Isaac Norris, Esq., the then speaker of the Colonial Assembly." "[H] When the British army approached Philadelphia, in 1777, this bell was taken down and carried to a place

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of safety. Already the ancient steeple, on account of decay, had been taken down, and a simple belfry put in its place. The present [1850] steeple is quite modern."

CHAPTER VIII

¹ See *Jay*, note 39, chapter IX.

² He also was elected to this Provincial Congress.

³ See note 119, chapter III (and note 117, *ibid.*).

⁴ See note 117, chapter III.

⁵ See pp. 17 and 68.

⁶ See p. 17.

⁷ See, however, p. 77.

⁸ This must have been by letter; for, as we have seen (See note 27, chapter VI), Jefferson (at Philadelphia) sent a letter to Nelson on or after the 19th. Indeed, Nelson could not have arrived: see p. 80; note 126, chapter III; and note 3, chapter VII. Indeed, also, see note 85, chapter III.

⁹ Jay did not take the oath of office until the 25th; but, on this day, the resolution of Congress of May 15th was taken into consideration and he was appointed upon a committee to report thereon.

¹⁰ See *Francis Lewis*, note 39, chapter IX.

¹¹ We know that he was present in Philadelphia on January 4th. We do not know when he left.

¹² Perhaps at the same time, though probably (by regular post) a day or so later, Jay must have received the letter (See p. 116) of Edward Rutledge.

¹³ Lee had already — the day before — introduced his resolution. This letter was written probably previous to the *debate* (See p. 111).

¹⁴ Though he purposed, Jay says (See *Francis Lewis*, note 39,

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chapter IX), to set out from New York City with Lewis, he seems — from the fact that he did not sign the letter of the 8th — not to have arrived with him.

¹⁵ A letter of the 27th of June to the Provincial Congress — not, however, on this subject — is signed by Clinton, Francis Lewis, Floyd, Wisner and Alsop. This would seem to indicate that, *interim*, Clinton had arrived at Philadelphia and R. R. Livingston departed. Indeed, see p. 140. See, however, *R. R. Livingston*, note 39, chapter IX.

(There is an article entitled "The Declaration in a new Light" in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* for July, 1883.)

¹⁶ The New York Delegates, accordingly, did not vote at all in the committee of the whole on July 1st, nor in Congress on the 2d or 4th.

¹⁷ See, however, Hazard's letter of July 5th, note 31, chapter VII.

¹⁸ Woodhull was President; Pierre Van Cortlandt was among those present.

For the feeling in New York City previous to its meeting, see Hazard's letter, note 31, chapter VII.

¹⁹ For what took place in New York City on this day, see p. 251.

²⁰ For the stand taken by them on this day, see p. 163.

²¹ Arnold J. F. van Laer, Librarian of Manuscripts in the New York State Library, under date of November 14, 1899, writes us: "Neither the letter from the Delegates to the Continental Congress, nor the copy of the Decl. of Indep. enclosed in that letter, are on file. The index for v. 34 of Miscellaneous papers 1775-76, refers to 2 printed copies of the Decl. of Ind. [one of which is evidently that sent by Hancock: see note 25, *post*, and p. 240] but both papers are wanting in the volume . . . The index to vol. 35 refers to a 'Printed copy [See p. 284] of the Decl. of Ind. with all the signatures and a request from

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J. Hancock to record it in the Archives of the State.' This document is also wanting. From these references I am inclined to think that the copy, enclosed in the original letter, must have been a printed one. It would be interesting if these missing documents, which have evidently been stolen, could be traced anywhere."

²² William Jay, in *Life of John Jay* (1825), says that the original—in the handwriting of Jay—is preserved among the records of New York. van Laer says (also), however: "There are also 2 references to the Resolutions of N. Y. Prov. Congress, July 9, 1776, one of which is missing while the other is a rough copy by Rob. Benson, Sec'y, I take it." Indeed, on November 18th, he writes, again: "In reply to your letter of yesterday I compared the resolutions of 9 July 1776 in Misc. papers . . . with some letters from John Jay and can say positively that the writing is not his. I have not the slightest doubt but it is Benson's."

²³ For what took place in New York City and at Huntington, see p. 255.

²⁴ In the New York State Library, there are two broadsides of the Declaration.

One, van Laer tells us, he found, in 1904, among some of the legislative papers of 1824. It is headed: "In CONGRESS, July 4, 1776. | A DECLARATION | By the REPRESENTATIVES of the | UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, | In GENERAL CONGRESS assembled." The body of the instrument is in two columns. At the bottom of the second column is: "*Signed by Order and in Behalf of the Congress,* | JOHN HANCOCK, President." and at the bottom, on the left, where (as well as elsewhere) it is worn and portions are missing: "S THOMSON, Secretary." There is scarcely any margin outside of the printing, but it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether trimmed or not.

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The other is headed: "In CONGRESS, July 4, 1776. | A DECLARATION | by the | REPRESENTATIVES | of the | UNITED STATES | of | AMERICA, | In GENERAL CONGRESS Assembled." The body is in two columns. At the bottom is: "NEW-YORK: Printed by JOHN HOLT, in Water-Street." The edges have been trimmed. See note 50, chapter XI. It is endorsed on the back: "[A] July 9th 1776 Declaration of Independence N^o 29".

²⁵ These were sent, July 11th, and were read in Congress by the President on the 15th—the day when, Jefferson says (See p. 200), the New York delegation *signed* the Declaration *on paper*. On the same day (the 11th), the following letter to Hancock was drafted (by the Convention): "Your letter of the 6th July instant [See p. 240], enclosing a copy of the Declaration [See note 21, *supra*] . . . has been received. It gives us pleasure to inform you that, having been informed of that Declaration by our Delegates, we have anticipated the request of Congress, by our Resolutions of the 9th instant, a copy of which was enclosed in a letter we did ourselves the honour of writing you this morning."

Also, see *Alsop*, note 39, chapter IX.

²⁶ See p. 60.

²⁷ Marshall, in his *Diary*, for June 8th, says: "This day, fresh instructions were given by our Assembly to their Delegates in Congress, Yeas 31, Nays 12."

²⁸ Marshall, in his *Diary*, says: "Down to where the First Battalion exercised; stayed till the resolves of Congress, Fifteenth of May, and the resolves made the Twentieth at the State House were read, then proposed whether they should support them at all hazards. The same was agreed to unanimously, except two officers in the Foot, two officers in the Infantry and about twenty-three privates in the Infantry. From thence to the Second Battalion, where the same was read and agreed to by

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all except two privates. The same I understand was done by Col. Mc Kean's and Col. Matlack's to a man, this day."

Dr. James Clitherall, who is stated to have left Charleston, S. C., in April, as an escort to Mrs. Edward Rutledge and Mrs. Arthur Middleton, writes: "May 13 . . . About dusk we ended our journey and took lodgings at Mrs. Yard's [where, we believe, Samuel and John Adams and Gerry lodged] on Second street . . . In this metropolis I had an opportunity of seeing the grand Continental Congress, a body of men to my knowledge not equalled in history . . . I met Mr. Lynch, whose situation [See note 38, chapter IX] struck me deeply with the feebleness of human nature. He was greatly recovered; could keep up a conversation very well, but now and then his memory seemed to fail him. It was indeed shocking to see a man whose opinion at one moment swayed millions, and the next he himself under the direction of doctors and nurses. I soon perceived in this city that parties ran high—the body of the people for Independency. The Proprietary, John Penn, and most of the gentlemen of the city attached to his interest, were against it lest the form of government should be changed . . . The rage of the multitude at present only vented itself in whisperings, but on a recommendation of Congress that those Colonies that did not find their present form of government sufficient for the exigency of the times, would settle a form of government for themselves, the rage of the people burst out in a protest against their present Assembly, who had instructed their Delegates not to vote for Independency. A meeting of the people was called. I attended it. The paper calling the meeting was produced recommending a number of resolves; the Committee of Inspection proposed the appointment of a chairman; Roberdeau was seated. The different questions were then put; the people behaved in such a tyrannical manner that the least opposition was dangerous . . . The questions were put, at the first of which, a man be-

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cause he would not vote as they did was insulted and abused, I therefore thought it prudent to vote with the multitude . . . I forgot to mention, that before the meeting of the conference every method was taken to force men into Independency by [the Committee of Privates] . . . They put the question to the City Battalions under arms, and any man who dared oppose their opinion was insulted and hushed by their interruptions, cheers and hissings. I do not mean by this that there was not a majority in their way of thinking, but to shew how unfair and partial their proceedings were . . . after living one month at Mrs. Yard's Mr. Middleton and Rutledge invited me to live with them . . . July 2. — This glorious day that threw off the tyranny of George III., and greeted the Colonies as free united and independent states, I left Philadelphia . . ." (Taken from *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXII, 468.)

²⁹ Taken from *Dunlap's*, etc., (N) of June 17th.

³⁰ Marshall, in his *Diary*, says: ". . . the members of the Assembly to the number of thirty-three, adjourned to August the Twenty-sixth, sundry country members being gone out of town."

³¹ See p. 131.

³² It may be found in *Dunlap's*, etc., (N) of July 1st.

³³ See p. 242.

³⁴ Silas Deane, in a letter to C. W. F. Dumas, dated Paris, October 6th, says: "I know what Dr. Franklin's sentiments were when I left America [See p. 97], and that nothing but a miracle could convert him to wish for an accommodation on other terms than the independence of the Colonies." Also, see note 106, chapter III.

³⁵ Marshall, in his *Diary*, says: "The gentlemen appointed this day, in Convention, for Provincial Delegates in Congress, were, B. Franklin, votes, 78; Robert Morris, 74; James Wilson, 74; John Morton, 71; George Clymer, 75; George

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Ross, 77; Col. James Smith, 56; Benja. Rush, 61; George Taylor, 34."

⁸⁶ He was a new Delegate. He signed the Declaration on parchment now in the Department of State.

⁸⁷ See p. 228.

⁸⁸ John Adams, in his *Diary*, says: "[J] Dr. Rush . . . is an elegant, ingenious body, a sprightly, pretty fellow." He writes, July 23, 1776: "[QyC] I don't know how I can better entertain you, that [than] by giving you some Idea of the Character of this D^r Rush.—He is a Native of Philadelphia, a Gentleman of a very ingenious Turn of Mind, and of elegant Accomplishment[.]" Many years later, June 11, 1813, in a letter to Jefferson, written at Quincy, he says: "[S] I lament with you the loss of Rush. I know of no Character living or dead, who has done more real good in America. Robert Treat Paine still lives, at 83 or 84, alert drol and witty though deaf. Floyd I believe yet remains. Paine must be very great; Philosopher and Christian; to live under the Afflictions of his Family . . . A Son, whose name was altered, from Thomas to Robert Treat has left a Volume of Prose and Verse, which will attract the attention of Posterity to his Father, more than his Signature of Independence." See note 3, chapter VI.

⁸⁹ He writes to his wife, "favored by Mⁿ Gettys", August 15th: "[Tr] I received your Letter two days since which gives me much pleasure to find your Thumb was got well, I blame myself for not writing oftener but if you knew how much I am hurried between Attending the Congress Convention & Assisting the Militia in getting Necessaries here . . . If this excuse wont pass—I Cant frame a better, I am glad however I did not write yesterday morning as I intended being then in a bad humour, having lost a New Cane, at a Turtle Feast with M^r Hancock & y^e Delegates last Week, & my New Hat & 37 Dollars in Paper—all which I got safe yesterday, I got my Cane

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at y^e New Tavern, Gen^l Wooster had taken my hat in a Mistake & the Negro woman found y^e money in my bed room amongst some old Papers — I have prevailed on my Landlord to rent Little New House, next Door to the Tavern where I have a genteel bed room & 2 Closets with locks & keys & a small Parlour below to do business in, so that I am quite out of y^e hurry of y^e Tavern — I have got a touch of Rheumatism in my Shoulder by Sleeping with my Windows open M^r Adams say I very well deserve it, for being so careless I told him as M^r Duchee prays for us every Day I thought there was no need to take Care of ourselves, he told me God helps them who help themselves — M^r Hancock is a better Doctor, as he has something of y^e Gout himself & has promised me some Pine buds to make Tea, however I have shut my Windows these 2 Nights & y^e Pain is almost gone off, it never hurt my Eating & Drinking — I dont like your Notion of coming here, the Horse trots rough & the mare is skittish, & all your male friends are at Camp & all your female ones in the Country, besides as you Cant bring the Children with you it woud distress them to be left behind . . . if you cant reason down your inclination I woud rather you woud go to your brother Billy's & send Caezar up & I woud leave to go that far — But woud rather you woud send Caezar with the Horses to Philad.^a next week, & I will get leave to go home for some time — the week after — Excuse all this stuff & believe me to be your aff^o husband &c [.]”

⁴⁰ See p. 225.

CHAPTER IX

¹ For his letters — of similar import — to Dallas and Rodney, see *Appendix*, pp. 299 and 301, respectively.

² See *Appendix*, p. 303.

³ This was published in the *Register* at the request of John

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Adams. He wrote to Niles, from Quincy, June 30th. See note 4, *post*.

⁴ M: Kean died, June 24th.

⁵ M: Kean is mistaken. New York did not vote at all; and Jefferson's *notes* show that South Carolina also voted against it.

⁶ M: Kean is evidently referring here to the report of the committee of the whole to Congress *upon the resolution adopted by it on the 1st* of which he has just spoken. If so, this statement is incorrect; for (See p. 165) *this* report was adopted by Congress on the 2d. On the 4th, Congress adopted the report of the committee of the whole *upon the Declaration itself*—its matter and form.

⁷ Cæsar Augustus Rodney writes to M: Kean from Wilmington, August 22, 1813: "[PM] But by accident [I] have lost or mislaid the letter you wrote to my uncle when at your own expence you dispatched an express for him to come to Philad: & vote on the question of Independence, the States having been equally divided, & the State of Delaware itself giving no vote, as you were for it, & M: Read against it. I think you informed me, that you did not see him until you found him conversing with M: Read in the Statehouse yard, and that when he came into Congress, you rose & stated 'that congress had been equally divided on the great question, & that the State of Delaware itself was also equally divided, & it remained with him to give the casting vote. That it was for this important purpose, you had, at your own expence sent for him.' Upon which he immediately observed, that he should vote for Independence as he believed all the honest men were in favor of it. I regret to lose a paper that would show how much the independence of this country depended on your own individual exertions as nothing should be lost to posterity on so interesting a subject. I should be glad to receive from you when leisure will admit, the candid

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account you have given me of this important transaction.” (For M:Kean’s reply, see *Appendix*, p. 301.)

⁸ He was in Congress doubtless as late as June 5th; for he was chosen upon a committee on that day. Also, see note 28, chapter IV. (On March 6th, he writes from Newcastle to M:Kean and Read: “[GR] I am ordered by the House to require your immediate attendance, unless business of the first importance should make your stay in Congress necessary: if so, you are immediately to let the House know it.” He was chosen upon a committee — in Congress — on April 29th; see note 37, chapter III; and he was chosen upon a committee on May 8th.)

#

On November 3, 1776, Rodney writes from Dover: “[N] I am in a better state of Health than When I left Philadelphia, and Tho’ Verry Much Engaged in business, have many, not only pleasing, but Laughable Reflections: Among Others, the happyness my Good Landlady must feel in my being so far removed from the Backgammon-Tables which so often interrupted her Evening Repose . . . If it should be my misfortune to be obliged to leave home and attend Congress, I Shall be with you — You will be pleased to make my Compliments to M: Elliry . . .”

⁹ See “Cæsar Rodney’s Fourth of July, 1776” in *Poetical Addresses of Geo. Alfred Townsend*.

¹⁰ This, *as stated*, is an error. The vote upon the 4th was *not* upon the question of “independence” but upon *the adoption of the Declaration itself*. The same error is found at other places in this letter. We believe, however, that Rodney *did* vote upon *the question of independence*, as M:Kean says, but that it was (See note 29, chapter VII) upon the 2d.

¹¹ If we are correct in our belief (See note 29, chapter VII) that Rodney returned on the 2d (and not on the 4th as M:Kean says), and if, as seems natural, M:Kean associated in memory the absence of Dickinson with the return of Rodney, then we

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must understand this to mean that Dickinson was absent on the 2d.

Even if so, however, he was probably absent on the 4th also; though Jefferson — having, as we believe (See *Appendix*, note 20), inserted in his notes the word “present” — says, in his letter of May 12, 1819, to Wells, that Dickinson “refused” to sign (on the 4th), implying his presence in Congress on that day.

Certainly, Dickinson’s absence (on both the 2d and 4th), in view of the stand he had taken, would not, we think, have been unnatural.

We know that, on the 9th, Clark writes from Philadelphia, to Samuel Tucker: “[NE] I expect the Militia of Phil^a will begin to March to day —” and that, on the 15th, Carpenter Wharton writes from Trenton, to Hancock: “Colonel Dickinson’s battalion have just marched for Woodbridge . . .”

¹² If we are correct in our belief (See note 29, chapter VII) that Rodney returned on the 2d (and not on the 4th as M:Kean says), and if, as seems natural, M:Kean associated in memory the absence of Morris with the return of Rodney, then we must understand this to mean that Morris was absent on the 2d.

Indeed, the *Journal* for July 4th says: “Ordered that M^r Morris & M^r Hewes determine the hire of M^r Walker’s vessel”; and we know that Robert Morris was on the Marine Committee. Moreover, the minutes of the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania show that, at a special meeting, held — following a regular meeting — on July 4th, a notice of the conference called that day by Congress to raise and march militia to aid the neighboring Colonies was received and entered and that this notice closed with: “[Pa] I am, Gent’n, Your obed’t Serv’t, Sign’d Rob’t Morris. To the Hon’ble the Committee of Safety. July 4th, 1776.”

Jefferson also (as we shall see: see p. 200), however, says that Morris was absent on the 4th; but it will be borne in mind that he says so only in his letter of May 12, 1819, to Wells,

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written after the publication of M:Kean's letter to Messrs. Wm. M^cCorkle & Son. Without doubt, he simply followed M:Kean.

#

Certain it is that Morris—like Dickinson—honestly believed in the position which he took.

His patriotism is beyond question. John Adams, on April 27th, writing to Gates, says: "[NY] You ask me what you are to think of Robt Morris? — I will tell you what I think of him — I think he has a masterly Understanding, an open Temper and an honest Heart: and if he does not always vote for What you and I should think proper, it is because he thinks that a large Body of People remains, who are not yet of his Mind. — He has vast designs in the mercantile Way. And no doubt pursues mercantile Ends, which are always gain; but he is an excellent member of our Body —" Nor did Adams' opinion change (See p. 191) after the question of independence came before Congress, or, indeed, after Morris' stated absence.

The only light which we have from Morris himself is a letter of July 21st (and a letter in similar vein to Gates, dated October, 1777: see *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, I, 336): see p. 227.

###

Morris writes to John Nicholson, February 5, 1798: "[Ts] If writing Notes could relieve me you would do it sooner than any man in the world but all you have said in those now before me N^o 5 to 9 inclusive amount when summed up *to nothing*. My Money is gone, my Furniture is to be sold, I am to go to Prison & my Family to Starve —"

¹⁸ If we are correct in our belief (See note 29, chapter VII) that Rodney returned on the 2d (and not on the 4th as M:Kean says), and if, as seems natural, M:Kean associated in memory the presence of "only five members" with the return of Rodney, then we must understand this to mean that Willing and

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Humphreys were "against it" (as, of course, he says they were on the 1st also: see *Appendix*, p. 303) on the 2d. Of course, they may have been present on the 4th also; but see p. 200 (and note 46, *post*).

¹⁴ M:Kean is mistaken. New York did not vote on the 1st, the 2d or the 4th.

¹⁵ M:Kean (like many others, and doubtless as the casual reader would, though see p. 196) has drawn an inference from this Journal which its words do not justify.

The Declaration, as it appears therein, is headed as follows: "A DECLARATION by the Representatives of the United STATES of AMERICA in congress assembled." Below appears the following: "The foregoing declaration was by order [July 19th: see p. 208] of Congress engrossed and signed by the following members:"; and then come the names of Hancock and of the other signers (except that of M:Kean) — the other signers being grouped by Colonies, in the order of their situation geographically, from north to south.

The first two paragraphs in the *rough* Journal following the Declaration (See p. 170) are not printed.

As we shall see, there are no names in either the *rough* or the *corrected* Journal.

¹⁶ It will be noted that this statement does not appear in his letter of 1796 to Dallas (See *Appendix*, p. 299) — his first upon the subject. It appears, however, in his letter of 1813 to Rodney (See *Appendix*, p. 301).

¹⁷ It is doubtless true that he was present in Congress on both July 2d and 4th, and it *seems* certain that he favored a declaration; but he did not *vote* at all upon the question of independence, and the reason why his name does not appear in the *printed* Journal is that he was absent when the Declaration on parchment was signed and never signed it.

See *Wisner*, note 39, chapter IX.

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¹⁸ Why his name does not appear in the *printed* Journal (Also, see note 1, chapter XIII) has never been accounted for, though various theories have at different times been advanced.

Bancroft (though upon what authority he does not state) and Mellen Chamberlain (See "The Authentication of the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776" in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, ser. 2, vol. 1, p. 272), following him, maintain even that M:Kean did not sign until 1781. (Can it be that Bancroft was lead so to state by misreading the letter of M:Kean of June 16, 1817, to Messrs. Wm. M'Corkle & Son, *Appendix*, p. 304?)

##

The *Diary* of Richard Smith for September 26, 1775, says: ". . . the Journal was read in Order for Publication and some Parts of it ordered not to be printed as improper for Public Inspection . . ." The Journal for the same day tells us: "The Committee appointed to examine the journal of the Congress during last Sessions reported a copy which was ordered to be read." The same *Diary* for January 1, 9 and 16, 1776, respectively, shows us: "We finished reading the Journal and sundry Passages were marked, according to Custom as improper for present Publication." "A Letter from L^d Stirling enclosing a Packet which he caused to be intercepted near Elizabeth Town containing . . . a printed Journal of Congress . . . a Copy of a Petition of our Assembly against Independency . . ." "Duane and E. Rutledge were desired to rectify a Mistake in the Journals now printing . . ." The Journal for March 21, 1776, says: "Resolved That a committee be appointed to superintend the printing the Journals of Congress, & if the present printer cannot execute the work with sufficient expedition, that they be empowered to employ another printer[.]"

On September 26, 1776, as given in the Journal, it was: "Resolved, That the committee appointed to superintend the

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publications of the journals be empowered & instructed to employ Robert Aitken to reprint the said journals from the beginning with all possible expedition & continue to print the same; and that this house will purchase of him 500 copies of the said journals when reprinted: And further that he be directed to purchase on reasonable terms such parts of the journals as M^r Bradford & Cist & C^o have printed & not yet published to be paid for by Congress."

#

The Journal as printed by Aitken under the resolve of September 26, 1776, is in two volumes, the first containing the proceedings of Congress from September 5, 1774, through December, 1775, the second, the proceedings during 1776. It bears the following: "PRINTED AND SOLD BY R. AITKEN, BOOKSELLER, FRONT-STREET, M,DCC,-LXXVII", together with the first portion of the resolve of September 26, 1776.

#

In Aitken's *Waste Book*, now in The Library Company of Philadelphia, we find, under October 4, 1776: "Congress for War Office Dⁿ To 12 Journals Jan^y to May 1776" and "D^r Witherspoon — D^r To Journals of Congress Jan^y to May"; under the 5th: "Congress — Dⁿ to 2 Journals Jan. to May 76 for M^r Gerry"; under the 8th: "Congress Dⁿ — To 50 Journals of Congress"; under the 11th: "M^r R. Bell printer D^r . . . To 12 Journals of Congress in Sheets", "Comittee Treasury & John Gibson Esq^r — D^r To 1 Journals of Congress" and "Library Comp^y Dⁿ To 3 Journals of Congress"; under the 18th: "Mr. John Montgomery D^r . . . To 4 Journals of Congress", "War Office Dⁿ Journals of Congress" and "W^m Hooper Esq^r of Congress D^r for S. Carolina To 12 Journals paid by R. A. To Bradford . . . To

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12 Journals Jan^r to May . . . both b^d together"; under the 22d: "M^r Sellers paper mould Mak^r D^r To 2 Vols Journals of Congress" and "Geo Walton Esq^r D^r To Journals of Congress 1775 . . . To 1 D^o printed by Aitken bound"; under the 23d: "Congress Dⁿ for Cha^r Thomson Esq^r 2 Journals 8 M^o Brad^d & Aitk^a bound together" and "Geo. Walton Esq^r D^r . . . 12 Journals of Congress in boards . . . 12 Journals 1775 Bradfd^e Edit."; under the 26th: "M^r Rob^t Wells Books^r S^c Carolina D^r To 38 for 30 Journals of Congress in b^d . . . To 28 Journals p^d by Bradford"; under the 30th: "Messⁿ Bradfords Dⁿ To 6 Journals of Congⁿ Jan^r to Jun^r" and "Mesⁿ Bradfords Dⁿ By 30 Journals of Congress Con^ts four [?] Months Stitched"; under November 4th: "Messⁿ Bradford's Dⁿ To Sundries 12 Journals in boards"; under the 7th: "Congress — Dⁿ for John Hart 1 Journals of Congress in boards"; under the 8th: "M^r Aaron Hunter D^r 30 for 24 Journals of Congress" and "C^r Messⁿ Bradfords — 6 Journals of Congress"; under the 19th: "Messⁿ Bradfords printers Dⁿ To 6 Journals of Congress"; under January 26, 1777: "M^r Robert Bell — D^r — — — — — To 6 Journals of Congress"; under May 2d: "Matthew Thornton Esq^r D^r for Congress Journals of Congress 2 Vols"; under the 13th: "Congress — — — — — Dⁿ To 100 Journals of Congr.: Vol: 1^a . . . in blue Boards"; under the 20th: "Delivered to R. H. Lee, F. L. Lee & M. Page for Congress — 3 Journals of Congress Vol. 1.^a" and "Congress — — — — — Dr For 600 Journals of Congress V^o 1^a in blue Boards"; under June 3d: "M^r Rob^t Bell . . . Cr for Stitching 300 V^o Journ^t Congress of Vol: 1^a in Boards"; and, under October 4th: "Congress Dⁿ To 14 R^ms 1^a Edit Journ^t of Congress by their Order delivered to M^r Flowers — for the purpose of Cartridges".

This contains also the following entries, in 1777 :

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[May 13]
Congress . . . D:
To 100 Journals of Congr: Vol: 1st . . .
in blue Boards . . .

[May 20]
Congress . . . D:
For 600 Journals of Congress V: 1st
In blue Boards . . .

An entry under date of December 14, 1778, says:

United States D:

1777 . . .

May 21 . . .

1778 . . .

Aug. 14 . . .

To printing Journals of Congress
700 Copies cont^d 26½ sheets . . .

. . .
I printed for 800 Vol. 2^d of Jour
nals of Congress, I allow 50 fewer
of above N^o Said books were car-
ried to Lancaster & committed to
care of M^r Dunlap I find of 750
copies only 532 delivered wanting
in all 218—I allow @ 22/6
as they have been lost or embezzled . . .
218 Vol. 1st are on hand & lost
to me over & above on Acco^t
of the 2^d Vols Missing
I desire to be heard on this affair

Of course, we do not know when the subject-matter was
set up in type.

See note 15, *supra*.

#

In The Library Company of Philadelphia (Ridgeway Branch)
and in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia,

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is a volume containing the proceedings from January 1 through April, 1776; and these bear: "Philadelphia: Printed by R. Aitken, Bookseller, opposite the London Coffee-house, Front-Street. M,DCC,LXXVI."

Of this printing, Aitken speaks (in his *Waste Book*) as follows, under date of January 2, 1779 (stating: "N.B. This Account should precede y^e on y^e opposite Page"):

United States D:
 To printing Journals of Congress from
 Feb. 1 — 1776 to Apr. 29 — inclusive
 on a pica type contain^e 15 sheets
 8^o . . .
 at this period of printing I was
 ordered to print no more on this
 1776 large type, & to begin a New Edit.
 beginning w^t first of Cong^t
 which rend^d sale of above abortive
 C: — Meantime I sold 80 . . .
 Also 14 Rms of this Edit to —
 Benj Flowers for the Use of
 army for Cartridges . . .

Some few were sold evidently by reason of an advertisement placed by Aitken in *The Pennsylvania Journal*, etc., (and in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, C and N, of October 9, 1776, and, we understand, in *The Pennsylvania Packet* of October 3d and later issues). This appears as follows in its issue (Rid) of October 9, 1776 :

This day is published, printed, and to be sold by ROBERT AITKEN, Printer and Bookseller opposite the London Coffee-House, Front street, containing nearly 240 pages, large Octavo, in blue boards (price One Dollar) the JOURNALS of the PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS, held at Philadelphia, from January to May 1776.

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In the same paper (and later issues) appears the following announcement :

TO-MORROW will be Published and Sold by WILLIAM & THOMAS BRADFORD, The Journal of the Proceedings of the CONGRESS Held at Philadelphia, from September to January last.

A copy of this is in The Library Company of Philadelphia (Ridgeway Branch); and it bears: "Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress, Held at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774, Through December 30, 1775 Philadelphia: Printed by William and Thomas Bradford, at the *London Coffee-House*. M,DCC, LXXIV."

¹⁹ We cannot find this.

²⁰ He appears in the chair at a conference held in the State House at 7 o'clock on the morning of the 5th to decide upon the best means of defending New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Some time before the 15th, though we do not know just when, he left Philadelphia with his regiment.

²¹ This does not seem to be true. As early as *August 28th*, Cæsar Rodney writes, from Philadelphia to Thomas Rodney: "I wrote Mr. Mc Kean at Amboy, and desired he would give immediate attention at the Convention [called for the 27th, at Newcastle]. He got my letter, and in consequence thereof came to Philadelphia on Sunday [the 25th] night last, and set out yesterday morning very early to New-Castle . . ." M:Kean himself writes, from Newcastle, to Cæsar Rodney, *September 19th*: "[N] Your favor of the 10th instant was delivered to M: Read by your boy . . . As I write this scrawl, while facts are recent & fresh in my memory, please to preserve it until I see you, which will be in a day or two. — " (The Convention adjourned on the 21st.) *Six days later* (the 25th), and on the 27th, he was chosen upon a committee in Congress; and, on

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the 28th, Philip Livingston writes that the latter committee "have promised us to report on Monday next . . ." On *October 10th*, he signs a letter headed "[Ts] In Marine Committee". Marshall's *Diary* for the 21st says: "Thence to State House Yard . . . Chief Speakers, against Convention, were Col. Mc Kean and Col. Dickinson . . ." On *November 18th*, Cæsar Rodney writes, from Dover: "I sent to the care of Thomas Mc Kean, Esq., in Philadelphia, by John Palmer, shallop-man, sixty blankets and all the clothes of any kind whatsoever that could be procured here suitable for the Delaware battalion." The *Diary* of Thomas Rodney (See *Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware*) for *December 16th* says: "At Christiana Bridge I met with Mr. Mc Kean . . . and several other members of Congress on their way from Philadelphia to Baltimore, and spent the evening with them . . ."

²³ The language of his letter (of 1796) to Dallas is different.

²³ We cannot find this; nor do there seem to be any indications of any "stitches".

²⁴ See facing p. 204.

²⁵ See *Appendix*, note 19.

²⁶ The committee of the whole.

²⁷ See *Appendix*, note 20.

²⁸ A copy of the letter to Messrs. Wm. M'Corkle & Son, clipped from some newspaper (which we have been unable to locate) of June 27, 1817, is — loose — among the Jefferson papers (formerly in the Department of State) now in the Library of Congress. It would appear formerly to have been "sewed into the Ms." of the *notes* at the end of the Declaration (See *Appendix*, p. 297); for Thomas Jefferson Randolph, in *Memoir, Correspondence and Miscellanies from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, as a note to the words "which I took in like manner" on the slip of paper there pasted, into the *notes*, says: "The above note of the author is on a slip of paper, pasted in at the

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end of the Declaration. Here is also sewed into the MS. a slip of newspaper containing, under the head 'Declaration of Independence,' a letter from Thomas M'Kean to Messrs. William M'Corkle & Son, dated 'Philadelphia, June 16, 1817.'"

²⁹ This letter was sent *first* to John Adams; for Jefferson writes to him, from Monticello, May 15, 1819: "[P] M^r. S. A. Wells . . . has made some inquiries of me relative to revolutionary antiquities which are within your knolege as well as mine. I therefore put my answer under your cover, and open for your perusal and animadversion to learn if I have committed any error. I fear none where I have taken facts from written notes. in other parts there may be error. when read, will you have the goodness to insert a wafer & return the letter to the post office?" We have not been able, however, to find any expression of Adams upon the subject following its receipt.

³⁰ See note 69, chapter II.

³¹ See p. 233.

³² See note 28, *supra*.

³³ See *Appendix*, p. 295.

³⁴ These brackets, of course, are in the original MS.'

³⁵ The letters "ea" of "Kean" are written over ai.

³⁶ See note 28, *supra*.

³⁷ There were a few, who, though *by right* members either on July 4th or on August 2d (or on both days), *cannot have signed a Declaration on paper on July 4th* and who *did not sign the Declaration on parchment*.

As to those from New York, see note 39, *post*; from Pennsylvania, note 44, *post*; and from Maryland, note 51, *post*.

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There were also Langdon (See note 89, *post*) and Hosmer, an alternate (See note 99, *post*).

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John Rutledge seems to have been another.

He, with Thomas Lynch, Henry Middleton, Gadsden and Edward Rutledge, was reelected, November 29, 1775.

He and Henry Middleton, as shown by the *secret domestic Journal*, left Congress sometime prior to January 1, 1776; and the proceedings of the Provincial Congress show that, on February 2d, they, "being lately returned from Philadelphia, being in their places as Members of this Congress," took part in its proceedings.

Gadsden (and son) also, as told by Marshall, in his *Diary*, for January 17, 1776, "Near seven . . . came to take their leave, they being to embark for South Carolina to-morrow"; and the proceedings of the Provincial Congress for February 9th show that he, "having arrived last night, and being present in his place, as a Member of this Congress, for Charlestown," was thanked for his services at Philadelphia.

(It is of him that Nelson speaks when he writes to Jefferson from Philadelphia on the 4th — of February: "[S] You would be surprized to see with how much dispatch we have done business since Dyer & Gaddesden left us. The former you know was superseded & the latter was orderd home to take command of his Regiment." See, however, pp. 12 and 88.)

A week after (February 16th) Gadsden arrived, a new election for Delegates was held; and, though John Rutledge had, the day before, requested the Provincial Congress to dispense with his further attendance upon the Continental Congress, because he felt that he could be of more service to the cause at home, he was again reelected. He does not seem to have resigned nor does any one else seem to have been chosen in his place following his election, March 27th, as President of the new government (See p. 88).

The new delegation were (Also, see note 38, *post*) John Rutledge, as stated, Thomas Lynch, Edward Rutledge, *Arthur*

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Middleton and Thomas Heyward, Jr., — Henry Middleton and Gadsden being left out. *Arthur* Middleton was chosen doubtless out of compliment to his father, *Henry* Middleton, who, on the day of the election (Also, see note 72, chapter II), asked the Provincial Congress not to reelect *him* because “of infirmities of age”.

Heyward appeared in Congress, April 24th. John Adams writes, in his *Autobiography*: “[J] On him we could always depend for sound measures, though he seldom spoke in public.” *Arthur* Middleton was chosen upon a committee, May 20th. He seems, according to John Adams, to have been prevailed upon by the “proprietary gentlemen” in Philadelphia to oppose a declaration of independence. Both signed the Declaration on parchment now in the Department of State.

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Yet others were Houston and Bullock.

Houston would *seem* to have been in Philadelphia as late as December 14, 1775, for he was chosen upon a committee (which, however, was of such character as to have one member from each Colony) on that day; though Hewes writes to Samuel Johnston from Philadelphia, November 26th: “[Cs] for other matters of News I refer you to the Bearer, M^r Houston who is one of the Georgia delegates to whom I doubt not you will shew every Civility . . .” Sanderson says: “[B] During the deliberations of congress, a few members had privately discussed the propriety of a Declaration . . . Zubly . . . secretly despatched a letter to the British governor, containing a full disclosure of this important state secret, and advising him to adopt preventive measures in Georgia. Fortunately, however, a copy of this communication was obtained by one of the clerks, and Mr. Chase [Chase was appointed a commissioner to go to Canada, it will be remembered, on February 15, 1776, and left, the latter part of March; and, indeed, Zubly was not reelected at the elec-

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tion held in Savannah, February 2d] . . . openly accused Dr. Zubly of treachery. Zubly stoutly denied the charge, and challenged his accuser to produce the proofs. Finding, however, that his perfidy would be clearly established, he immediately fled. Mr. Houston was directed to pursue him, and to adopt every expedient measure to counteract any evils that might result from the disclosure." We know that, on September 14, 1775, Richard Smith writes in his *Diary*: "these Motions were opposed by Chase and J. Adams and supported by Nelson, Houston and Dr. Zubly. the latter out of Humor with Chase"; and we know that Zubly writes to Houston and Bullock (?): "[N] I am Setting off for Georgia greatly indisposd You will doubtless reach home before me tho You should not depart these ten days, in Case of my first Arrival I think not to make any Report to our Council of Safety till we are all present. I have left my Case with Spirits [?] at my Lodgings (having a smaler [?] one [?]) which I advise You to take with You well filed if You do not mean to drink whiskey &c by the [?] Way, it will either suit You or Mess Habersham [?] Should I arrive before You I will not fail to acquaint Your friends but I can only travel slow — I wish You a pleasant Journey [.]"

Bullock was in Congress doubtless as late as February 23d (1776); for he was appointed upon a committee on that day. As we have already seen (See note 100, chapter III), he writes to John Adams from Savannah, Ga., however, May 1st, and, on May 2d, he writes from the same place to Samuel Adams: "[SA] The Gentleman, Major Walton, who is the Bearer of this, will most readily inform you . . . A Pamphlet has lately appeared among us entitled Common Sense; By the numerous Editions it has gone thro', we may form an Idea of its Success. With respect to myself, I cannot but coincide with the Author in his Sentiments, and think his Reasonings clear and Demonstrative. What blessed Fruit [?] we might expect from a Recon-

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ciliation, I cannot discern, or why we shou'd leave a Work for our Posterity to finish, whenever Providence, and everything around us, seem to dictate to the intelligent Mind, that the Time of Separation is fully come.—" John Adams replies, July 1st, to the letter to him: "[J] Two days ago I received your favor of May 1st, I was greatly disappointed, Sir, in the information you gave me, that you should be prevented from revisiting Philadelphia. I had flattered myself with hopes of your joining us soon, and not only affording us the additional strength of your abilities and fortitude, but enjoying the satisfaction at seeing a temper and conduct here somewhat more agreeable to your wishes than those which prevailed when you were here before. But I have since been informed that your countrymen have done themselves the justice to place you at the head of their affairs . . . Your colleagues, Hall and Gwinnet, are here in good health and spirits, and as firm as you yourself could wish them. Present my compliments to Mr. Houston . . ." He does not seem to have resigned nor does anyone else seem to have been chosen in his place following his election as President of the new government.

(John Adams writes to his wife in September, 1775: "[Ad] Mr. Bullock is another of the Georgia delegates — a sensible man—a planter, I suppose. Mr. Houston is the third, a young lawyer, of modesty as well as sense and spirit, which you will say is uncommon.")

⁸⁸ On March 23, 1776, the Provincial Congress of South Carolina "Resolved, That Thomas Lynch, Jun., Esq., on account of the alarming ill state of health of his father, one of the Delegates from this Colony, at Philadelphia, have leave of absence." It also was resolved that a new Delegate to Congress—a sixth—be chosen; and, on the ballot, Thomas Lynch, Jr., was duly elected. See note 96, chapter III. He was chosen upon a committee in Congress, June 5th.

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Thomas Lynch, Sr., "on account of his ill state of health . . . [was given] leave to return to this Colony, if he shall think it necessary." Hewes, in a letter to Samuel Johnston, written at Philadelphia, March 1st, tells us: "[NC] Hooper is not yet returned from Boston, I expect him every moment, Penn is now writing to the Council of Safety which Letter I shall sign for Hooper & Self, an express is now waiting, he is sent to S^c Carolina by the delegates of that Province to inform them of this days appointments and of the Critical state of M^r Lynch's health who a few days ago [February 18th] had an appoplectic stroke and is now in great danger." Also, see note 96, chapter III. See, however, note 28, chapter VIII; and we know that the elder Lynch signed letters dated Philadelphia, July 9th and 25th.

If, therefore, the Declaration *was* signed *on July 4th on paper* by those Jefferson here mentions, *both* father and son *may* (very possibly) have signed *that* Declaration, though the latter only signed the Declaration *on parchment*.

When — after July 25th — the elder Lynch left Philadelphia, we have not been able to ascertain: but we know that, as early as May 29th, Jay writes from New York to Duane: "[Z] Be so kind as to inform M^r Lynch that I have not yet been able to procure a horse for him. We find mares fit for riding have, in consequence of the resolve of Congress forbidding races, been put to breeding; and I believe it will be difficult to get a handsome gelding, I shall however continue my inquiries, and should I meet with anything very clever, shall perhaps be very lavish of his guineas"; and *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* (T) of February 22, 1777, gives, as a communication from Charleston, S. C., of December 12, 1776: "DEATHS. At Annapolis, on his way home, THOMAS LYNCH, Esq; one of our Delegates at the Continental Congress."

⁸⁰ Jefferson's language leaves us in doubt as to *which* Delegates he means by "N. York" and makes it impossible either to

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confirm or to disprove his statement by proof of the presence or absence of such members in Congress on July 15th. He does not state even that he means those Delegates who signed the Declaration on parchment — Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis and Lewis Morris.

It is interesting, however, to know who only of the New York Delegates *could* have signed on that day, *if* Jefferson's statement about a Declaration *on paper* be true.

The representative body of New York, on April 21, 1775, elected Philip Livingston, Duane, Alsop, Jay, Boerum, Floyd, Wisner, Schuyler, Clinton, Lewis Morris, Francis Lewis and R. R. Livingston to attend the Congress which was to convene in Philadelphia on May 10th. On December 21st of the same year, the representative body resolved that the Delegates thus elected should arrange among themselves so that only five of their number would attend upon Congress at one time.

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Jay writes from Philadelphia to R. R. Livingston, March 4, 1776: "[Z] I wrote you last week from Elizabethtown . . . The Committee for Canada was appointed [February 15th] before I reached this place." We know that he was still in Philadelphia on April 27th.

On May 17th (Also, see Duane's letter of the 16th, note 119, chapter III), however, R. R. Livingston writes *from* Philadelphia *to* Jay: "[Z] You have by this time sounded our people"; and, certainly as early as May 24th, Jay was in attendance upon the Provincial Congress, sitting in New York City.

On May 29th, Jay writes, to R. R. Livingston from that city: "[Z] I shall again take a solitary ride to Philadelphia, whenever the Convention [Provincial Congress], who directed me to abide here until their further order, shall think proper to

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dismiss me"; and, on June 29th, as shown by the proceedings of that body, "Mr. Jay asked for, and obtained leave to go to Elizabethtown, and is to return on Monday morning."

Two days after (July 6th) the Declaration was adopted by Congress, Jay writes, to Edward Rutledge: "[Z] Your friendly letter [See p. 139] found me [still in New York City] . . . engaged by plots, conspiracies, and chimeras dire . . . Your idea of men and things (to speak mathematically) run, for the most part, parallel with my own; and I wish Governour Tryon and the devil had not prevented my joining you on the occasion you mentioned. How long I may be detained here is uncertain, but I see little prospect of returning to you for a month or two yet to come. We have a government, you know, to form; and God only knows what it will resemble . . . My compliments to Messrs. Braxton, Lynch, and such others as I esteem, — of which number rank yourself, my dear Ned, among the first."

Three days later, the Convention met — at White Plains; and Jay was present. He was still there on the 15th.

On the 22d, however, Robert Yates writes from Poughkeepsie: "Mr. Jay is gone to Salisbury for cannon"; and, on the 26th, Trumbull writes from Lebanon, Conn.: "Mr. Jay came here on Friday for the loan of cannon to use on the North River." Jay himself writes, from Salisbury, July 29th, to his wife: "[Z] I am now returning to Poughkeepsie, where I am to meet some members of the Convention on the 7th of August."

Jefferson, writing at Monticello, September 4, 1823, to John Adams, says: "[P] I observe your toast of *m̄r* Jay on the 4th of July, wherein you say that the omission of his signature to the Declaration of Independance was by *accident*. our impressions as to this fact being different, I shall be glad to have mine corrected, if wrong. Jay, you know, had been in constant opposition to our laboring majority. our estimate, at the time, was that he, Dickinson & Johnson of Maryland by their ingen-

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uity, perseverance and partiality to our English connection, had constantly kept us a year behind where we ought to have been in our preparations and proceedings. from about the date of the Virginia instructions of May 15. 76. to declaration of Independancy mr Jay absented himself from Congress, and never came there again until Dec. 78. of course he had no part in the discussion or decision of that question."

Adams replies, from Quincy, September 13th of the same year: "[S] It is true that Mr Jay, Mr Dickinson, and Mr Johnson, contributed to retard many vigorous measures, and particularly the vote of Independence untill he left Congress, but I have reason to think he would have concured in that vote when it was taken if he had been there. His absence was accidental — Congress on the fifteenth of May preceeding, as I remember had recommended to all the States to . . . institute . . . a new Government . . . Mr Jay had promoted his resolution in New York by adviseing them to call a Convention to frame a new Constitution, he had been chosen a Member of that Convention, and called home by his Constituents to assist in it . . . Mr Jay was immediately appointed Chief Justice of the State, and obliged to enter immediately on the duties of his Office, which occasioned his detention from Congress afterwards, but I have no doubt, had he been in Congress at the time he would have subscribed to the Declaration of Independence, he would have been neither recalled by his Constituents nor have left Congress himself, like Mr Dickinson, Mr Willing, Governor [William] Livingston, and several others —"

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The New-York Journal, etc., (C) of July 20, 1775, says: "On Tuesday the 11th Instant died, after two Hours illness, of a Bilious Disorder, at his House on Long Island, Simon Boerum, Esq. . . ."

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A Second Memorial of Henry Wisner by Franklin Burdge says :
“ I have a copy of the first edition [of *Common Sense*], with the following letter written on the margin of the first page : ‘ Sir, I have only to ask the favor of you to read this pamphlet, consulting Mr. Scott and such of the Committee of Safety as you think proper, particularly Orange and Ulster, and let me know their and your opinion of the general spirit of it. I would have wrote a letter on the subject, but the bearer is waiting. Henry Wisner, at Philadelphia. To John Mc Kesson, at New York.’ ” (See *The Life of Thomas Paine*, etc., by Cheetham, p. 47, note.)

According to his *Memorial of Wisner*, in May, 1776, Wisner was in Orange County, N. Y., engaged in erecting two powder mills. Data in the office of the Comptroller of the State of New York would indicate that Wisner charged for 14 days’ “ Service in Provincial Congress ” during that month. He was chosen upon a committee in Congress on June 7th, however; and he signs letters dated Philadelphia, June 8th, 17th and 27th and July 2d. Moreover, see pp. 140 and 194 and *Appendix*, pp. 300, 302 and 305.

He was, without doubt, therefore, in Congress on July 4th and 15th. Indeed, Congress, as shown by the Journal, on the 4th, “ Resolved that M^r Wisner be empowered to send a man at the public expense to Orange county for a sample of flint stone ”, and, on the 16th, “ Resolved That M^r Wisner be empowered to employ a proper person to manufacture gun-flints.— ”

It seems likely that he again left Philadelphia immediately after the last resolve. Certainly at 8 o’clock on the morning of the 23d, he was in attendance upon the Convention, at White Plains. He was there also at least until the morning of the 27th; and we find him chosen upon a committee there on August 6th and again recorded as present on the morning of the 7th.

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Schuyler was with his army. On August 2, 1776, he writes, to Washington, from " [S] German-Flatts ".

#

Philip Livingston, as we have seen, was present in the Provincial Congress, in New York City, on June 8, 1776. (He was chosen upon a committee in Congress on January 8th, and a letter, dated the 15th of the same month, from him, Francis Lewis and Alsop, respecting powder, was received in Congress on the 17th; and the *Diary* of Richard Smith would indicate that he was present again in Congress on February 20th: but, thence until June 8th, we have been unable to learn his whereabouts.) On Wednesday, the 26th (of June), however, he notifies the Provincial Congress that his attendance is demanded in Philadelphia and that, unless there is some objection, he desires to set out for that city on the Sunday following (June 30th). He was discharged from attendance after Saturday. The first indication upon the Journal of his presence in Congress after this is the choice of him upon a committee on July 6th. We know, however, that he had arrived by the 3d; for, on that day, Witherspoon writes from Philadelphia: "[NE] This afternoon Mr: Philip Livingston of New York told me that one of our Delegates at Burlington desired him to tell me . . ."

(In the office of the Comptroller of the State of New York is a paper, referring to a charge of Jay for attending Congress from September 13, 1775, to January 6, 1776, inclusive, on which appears: "with six Days spent in going & returning"; and see *R. R. Livingston, post*, and p. 205.)

He was, without doubt, therefore, in Congress on July 4th, and on the 15th also, for he was chosen upon a committee on that day; and it seems certain (See his letter of August 16th, *Alsop, post*) that he was there on August 2d as well.

Indeed, there is in the possession of John D. Crimmins of

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New York City the following (of which, however, "11. June" seems strange) :

1776 The Hon^{ble} Convention of the State
Of New York to Philip Livingston Deb^t

For his Allowance for Expenses attending Congress from 11. June to the 20. Dec ^r is 193 Days at	}	Dollars
4 Dol ^s p ^r Day -----	}	772

Kingston the 11. March, 1777. Rec^d the above
Sum in Acc^t this Day . . .
Phil. Livingston

#

Floyd signs letters dated Philadelphia, June 8, 17 and 27, July 2 and August 10, 1776. Moreover, see p. 140.

Indeed, he rendered the following statement to the Convention, and received pay for the attendance therein enumerated :

[N] Convention of the State of New York D^t to William
Floyd for Expences in attending the Continental Congress
from 23 of April 1776 Inclusive { 169 Days at 4 Dollars } 676
to the 8 October 1776 { per Day }

He was, without doubt, therefore, in Congress on July 4th and 15th and on August 2d.

#

Francis Lewis (See *Philip Livingston, supra*, and *Alsop, post*) writes from New York City, to Sherman, May 2, 1776 : "As our election for Delegates is to be on the 14th instant, I shall defer my return to Philadelphia till that is over." He attended, as we have seen, upon the Provincial Congress on the 19th. Ten days later, Jay writes, from the same city : "[Z] Messrs. Alsop and Lewis set out next Saturday [June 1st] for Philadelphia . . ." Lewis was chosen upon a committee in Congress on June 5th;

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and he signs letters dated Philadelphia, June 8th, 17th and 27th, July 2d and August 6th. Moreover, see p. 140.

He was, without doubt, therefore, in Congress on July 4th and 15th and on August 2d.

#

Clinton was chosen upon a committee in Congress, April 18, 1776.

On the 4th of the next month, however, he writes from Fish-kill; and, on the 5th, he writes, to Washington, from New Windsor: "[S] On my arrival here I sent immediately . . ."

Following this, — though we know that, on May 29th, Jay writes, to R. R. Livingston, then at Philadelphia: "[Z] Is Mr. Clinton returned?" and that Clinton did not sign the letter of June 17th (See p. 184) — the first definite knowledge we have of his whereabouts is the choice of him upon a committee in Congress, June 24th. It seems probable, therefore, that he did not return to Congress until some days after the postponement. He signs letters dated Philadelphia, June 25th, 26th and 27th and July 2d. Moreover, see p. 140.

Ten days later (July 12th), however, Washington (then at New York City) writes to him, at New Windsor; and, on the 15th and on August 2d, he himself writes from Fort Montgomery, to Washington.

#

Lewis Morris was in Philadelphia on May 14, 1776; for he signs a letter there on that day.

On June 7th, however, he was made Brigadier-General of the Militia of Westchester County; and, on the same day, a letter was drafted in the Provincial Congress which says: "The Convention [Provincial Congress], therefore, earnestly request the favour of the [Continental] Congress speedily to dismiss Mr. Morris, they being very desirous of forming their regiments of Militia without delay."

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Morris, accordingly, left Philadelphia (though we do not know when); and, on July 9th, we find him in the Convention, at White Plains.

Sometime "P. M." of the same day — after the adoption of the resolution respecting independence (See p. 186) —, however, as shown by the proceedings of that body, "General Morris's daughter being extremely ill, he requested and obtained leave of absence."

At 4 "P. M." on July 22d, we find him again upon the roll (of the Convention); and he was in attendance there upon August 2d also.

On August 12th, Washington writes to Hancock: "General Morris too is to take part with the brigade on the Sound and Hudson's River for ten days"; and Morris himself writes to Abraham Yates from New Rochelle, August 18th, recommending "[N] the Dismissing the Militia for the present . . ."

On the 26th, as shown by the proceedings of the Convention, "General Morris suggested sundry reasons to the Convention for his attendance at Philadelphia. Ordered, That General Morris attend at Congress at Philadelphia, and return with all possible despatch."

He writes from Philadelphia, September 8th, to Jay: "[Z] I am very anxious about our situation at N. York. I should have gone off this day but Mr. Lewis has taken flight toward that Place in quest of his family, that were on Long Island, and there remain only three of us." This was followed, on the 24th, by a letter, to the Committee of Safety (?), which says: "[NM] I had the honor to receive your Letter accompanying the Resolve of Congress relative to my return to resume the command of my Brigade . . . Since my arrival at Philadelphia the State of N York has had no more than a representation in Congress, and as the Gentlemen of the Committee for Indian Affairs were mostly out of Town, the whole of that necessary business has

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devolved upon me — My family have been obliged to desert their home, and meeting with them in this place, altogether unprovided, I have been under the necessity of delaying the time of my Stay untill I could fix them in some Situation where they could be accommodated . . . The Situation of my Brigade I was convinced was well known to the Convention — I apprehended that not more than a Coll' Command was left in it, and as such did not think my presence was so absolutely necessary . . . However in obedience to the commands of Convention, I shall prepare with all possible expedition to set out for West Chester . . .”

#

R. R. Livingston writes, to Jay, from Claremount, March 20, 1776. Sixteen days previous, Jay writes to him: “[Z] Fame says you are still much indisposed.”

We believe that he arrived in Philadelphia, May 16th; for, on the 17th, he writes thence to Jay: “[Z] I was so unfortunate as to miss the last post, by which means I was prevented from letting you hear what I had done about getting you lodgings at Bristol, & the important business [evidently the resolution of May 15th: see p. 105] that had been transacted before I arrived.” (He had secured three bedrooms and a parlor in a retired country house about two miles from Bristol “[Z] for your Saturday’s retreat on the Banks” of the Delaware.)

Four days later, he writes again to Jay: “[Z] I . . . am just now setting out for Bristol to meet Mrs. Livingston . . . Pray send some of our colleagues along, otherwise I must be more confined than either my health or inclination will allow.” (Also, see note 117, chapter III.) Jay answers, May 29th: “[Z] I pray God that your health may enable you to attend constantly, at least till it may be in my power to relieve you.”

Jay, however, as we know, — though Francis Lewis and Alsop came — was kept in New York and Duane departed to visit his

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family ; and we find Livingston chosen upon a committee, June 7th, taking part in the debate on the initial resolution offered by R. H. Lee, June 8th or 10th or on both days, chosen upon the committee to draft the Declaration, June 11th, and signing a letter dated Philadelphia, June 17th.

Then Clinton came; and, on June 27th, *his* name appears upon the letter to the Provincial Congress (See note 15, chapter VIII), while Livingston's does not. Whether Livingston had at this time left Philadelphia or not, however, we do not know.

A paper in the office of the Comptroller of the State reads :

The New York Provincial Congress Dr

To Rob^t R Livingston for his services at Congress including 4 weeks in which he was employed as one of a Committee of Congress to Ticonderoga.

	Days
From the 13 th [?] of May 1776 to the 8 th of July	56.
Going & returning - - - - -	10
From the 12 th of Sep ^r to the 11 th of Dec ^r - - - - -	90
Going (return from Albany being one day is included in the above) - - - - -	5

On July 17th, Livingston appears in the Convention, at White Plains ; and, on the 22d, he was in Poughkeepsie. The 5th of August finds him again in the Convention.

#

Duane writes, to Jay, from Philadelphia, May 16, 1776 (Also, see his letter of March 20th, p. 97) : "[Z] I hope you will relieve me soon as I am impatient to visit my Friends; I look upon Business here to be in such a train that I can well be spared", and, on the 25th: "[Z] It is more than 9 months since I have seen my children & I have spent but about ten days in that time with Mrs. Duane."

Four days later (the 29th), Jay advises R. R. Livingston — then at Philadelphia — that Alsop and Francis Lewis will leave for

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Philadelphia on the 1st and that " [Z] Mr. Duane informs me that he is about to return home, and considering how long he has been absent from his family, I think him entitled to that indulgence."

Duane, accordingly, left Philadelphia before the introduction of the initial resolution by R. H. Lee. (See pp. 136 and 159.) Indeed, he was chosen upon a committee in the Provincial Congress, in New York City, June 3d.

In the late afternoon, two days later, "Mr. Duane had leave of absence to visit his family and provide a house for their reception."

We know nothing further of his whereabouts until September 28th, when he is found in attendance upon the Convention, at White Plains.

(Hooper writes from Philadelphia to R. R. Livingston, August 17th: "[BT] Where is Duane? I wish to hear that he is busied in calling forth the strength of his neighborhood to oppose the miscreants of Britain. Upon no other terms can I excuse his absence. I miss his nocturnal whiff. I am sick of regularity; in bed before ten o'clock, judge what company I keep. Pray return to us and urge him to his duty here as soon as you can be spared from your present employment.")

#

Also, doubtless (See *Francis Lewis*, *supra*) left New York City, on his way to Philadelphia, June 1, 1776. Also, see note 14, chapter VIII. (He was chosen upon a committee in Congress on January 8th; see *Philip Livingston*, *supra*; he was again chosen upon a committee on March 4th, this time in the place of Lewis, who, the Journal states, was absent; he signs a letter dated Philadelphia, March 19th; and see p. 181.) (Lewis writes from Baltimore, March 12th.)

He was, without doubt, therefore, present in Congress on both July 4th and 15th and very possibly — certainly, we think, in Philadelphia — on August 2d also.

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It, however, is very certain that *he* at least did not sign *any* Declaration on the 15th (of July) or on any other day; for, on the 16th, he writes to the Convention: "Yesterday our President read in Congress a resolve [See p. 186] of your honorable body . . . I was much surprised to find it come through that channel. The usual method hitherto practiced has been, for the Convention of each Colony to give their Delegates instructions to act and vote upon all and any important questions. And in the last letter [See p. 184] we were favoured with from your body, you told us that you were not competent or authorized to give us instructions on that grand question; nor have you been pleased to answer our letter of the 2d instant [See p. 185], any otherwise than by your said resolve, transmitted to the President . . . as you have, I presume, by that Declaration, closed the door of reconciliation, I must beg leave to resign my seat as a Delegate . . ."

In response to this letter, the Convention, on July 22d, "Resolved, unanimously, That the Convention cheerfully accept of Mr. Alsop's resignation . . ." At the same time, they enclosed to their Delegates in Congress a copy of his letter to them and two copies of the resolution. One copy of the resolution was to be delivered to Alsop; the other, with the copy of his letter, was to be laid before Congress, "since they will best be able to investigate the meaning of the writer, and determine how far his knowledge of the publick transactions may or may not be safely trusted in his custody."

Philip Livingston, replying for himself and the other Delegates, August 16th, says: "Your favour, dated the 22d July, enclosing copy of Mr. Alsop's letter to the Convention, and a resolve of your body accepting his resignation of his seat in Congress, was received, and agreeable to your directions communicated the same to the Congress, and delivered a copy to Mr. Alsop, who had not attended for some days before, though we did not then know the reason of his absenting himself."

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Suggestive light is thrown upon Alsop's action by a letter from Bartlett to Langdon, dated Philadelphia, August 5th: "[BT] Since the declaration of Independence, your friend John Alsop has wrote to the Convention of New York to resign his seat in Congress and made some reflections on the Convention for their agreeing so unanimously to that Declaration. the Convention in return voted cheerfully and unanimously to accept of his resignation with some severe and cutting reflections on him for his conduct which were all sent to Congress. I believe his boarding with our friend Wharton has been no advantage to him. Possibly he was obliged to resign his seat as a previous condition to his taking full possession of the Lady."

⁴⁰ It would seem that, if it were true that such signing took place on the 15th, John Adams and Bartlett would have expressed themselves differently than they did in letters to John Adams' wife and Langdon, respectively, dated this very day. John Adams says: "[Qy] Independence is at last unanimously agreed to in the New York Convention"; and Bartlett says: "[BT] The Colony of New York has fully acceded to the Declaration of Independency so that it now has the sanction of the thirteen United States . . ." Also, see Alsop's letter of July 16th, *Alsop*, note 39, *supra*.

⁴¹ See p. 186.

⁴² He evidently means Franklin, Wilson and Morton. Certainly, there are in existence a letter of Wilson to the Committee of Safety and a letter of Franklin and Wilson to Jasper Yates dated Philadelphia, July 4th.

⁴³ See p. 192.

⁴⁴ Assuming that Jefferson means that Franklin, Wilson and Morton were the "minority" who signed (as he says) on the 4th, he has left out of consideration here Andrew Allen and Edward Biddle, both of whom also had been elected Delegates by the Assembly.

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These gentlemen were in attendance, it would seem, as late as June 14th; for (See, however, note 30, chapter VIII) then the Assembly paid them, as well as the other Delegates, for their attendance (upon Congress). When they left Congress, however, we do not know.

#

Of Allen, we have already seen (See p. 91) what John Adams says.

In *Proceedings on Unveiling the Monument to Cæsar Rodney and the Oration Delivered on the Occasion by Thomas F. Bayard, at Dover, Delaware, October 30th, 1889*, appears the following — stated to be taken from an original manuscript of Thomas Rodney, younger brother of Cæsar Rodney: "In the year 1776, when independence began to be agitated in Congress, General Rodney . . . came home to consult his friends and constituents on that important question. He communicated the matter to his brother, Colonel Rodney, and observed that he had a great deal at stake, and that almost all of his old friends in Congress were against it, particularly Andrew Allen, John Dick[*in*]son, Robert Morris and his colleague, George Read . . ."

Rush writes, from Philadelphia to R. H. Lee, December 20, 1776: "[A] Mr Galloway — & three of the Allen family have received Absolution at Trenton."

The Virginia Gazette (C) of January 10, 1777, is even more specific: "Amongst the *worthies* who have joined, or put themselves under the protection of, Howe and company, at Trenton, we find the names of the following *noted* personages, viz: Joseph Galloway, Esq; late a member of the Congress . . . Andrew Allen, Esq; late a member of Congress."

Indeed, in the *Diary* of Thomas Rodney, for December 22, 1776, we read: "About 2 o'clock to-day we reached Bristol . . . Col. Morris the quartermaster immediately sent us out to

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William Coxe's and Andrew Allens on the banks of the Ne-shaminy creek where we appointed our quarters, about 2 miles from Bristol. The Lieutenant and half the company were placed at Mr. Coxes and the other half at Mrs. Allens, who . . . requested that I would stay at her house to prevent her being insulted, as her husband and brothers had fled to the enemy, and she therefore had been insulted some days before."

Also, see a very interesting letter from Hewes to Johnston, of May 11, 1775, in *The Colonial Records of North Carolina, etc.*, by William A. Saunders.

#

Biddle doubtless retired to Reading. Certainly on November 19, 1776, he writes thence to William Atlee at Lancaster.

The Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser (C) of September 9, 1779, says: "On Thursday last, after a very lingering illness, died at Baltimore, in the 41st year of his age, that great Lawyer, the Hon. Edward Biddle, Esq; of Reading, in this State . . . the County of Berks unanimously elected him . . . a Delegate in Congress: And the conduct of the patriot did honor to the choice."

⁴⁵ See note 11, *supra*.

⁴⁶ See, to the same effect, *Jay*, note 39, *supra*.

⁴⁷ See note 12, *supra*.

⁴⁸ It will be noted that Jefferson does not say *when* they signed. From his previous language, it might be *implied*, however, that he intends to be understood as meaning that they signed on the 20th, the day of their election. Indeed, *if* they signed a Declaration *on paper*, it would seem *probable* that they signed on that day; for it was then that their credentials were produced and read in Congress. Certain it is that Robert Morris does not mention any signing: see p. 227.

⁴⁹ Jefferson himself, it will be noted, seems to confuse the signing of the Declaration *on parchment* and of *his* Declaration

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"*on paper*". He does not state whether Thornton signed *both* or only the one *on parchment*.

⁵⁰ For this reason, see p. 210.

⁵¹ If Jefferson be correct in his statement that the Declaration was signed first — on July 4th — *on paper* (and if he means that the same gentlemen signed *that* Declaration who signed the Declaration *on parchment* and that there were no other *post-signers* to *that* — the *paper* — Declaration), this statement is incorrect.

#

Chase and Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who left Philadelphia soon after the postponement, *cannot* have signed any Declaration — on paper — on July 4th; for we find them recorded as voting in the Convention at *Annapolis* on the first six days of July.

Indeed, the election of Delegates in Maryland did not take place until July 4th, nor was Carroll (He signed the Declaration on parchment now in the Department of State) a Delegate up to that time (Also, see note 15, chapter XIII); while Chase writes to John Adams from Annapolis on the 8th: "[Qy] M^r Paca can show You the Declaration of our Convention, different from the one in December . . . I hope the Congress will not be offended with our advancing before we received their Orders . . . I have some Hopes of seeing You in about ten Days — M^r Carroll leaves his Home next Sunday"; and, on the 12th, Stone writes from Philadelphia to the Council of Safety: "Our Province is now unrepresented . . . I pray one of the Delegates may be desired to attend. Mr. Paca is out, which occasions me alone to address you."

It was the 17th before they arrived, as shown by a letter from Chase to Gates, dated Philadelphia, July 18th: "[NY] I was obliged to return to Maryland on Account of M^r Chase's Illness, — every Moment of my Stay there was engrossed by my Attendance on my Lady and our Convention. On yesterday

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I came to Congress with M^r. Carroll . . . I am compelled to return to Maryland on 8th of August."

The new credentials were laid before Congress on the next day. Tilghman, Johnson, Paca, Stone and Alexander (as well as Chase) had been reelected. Paca and Stone, as we have seen, had remained in Philadelphia and were still present.

Tilghman, Johnson and Alexander, however, did not proceed to Philadelphia. The reason for the absence of the last would seem to have been the same that caused his absence from the Convention, which, as given by himself, in a letter to that body, written at Newington, June 25th, was: "Had my health permitted, I should have been at Annapolis the first of the meeting; but the wound in my ankle has hitherto [See note 32, chapter V] and still continues to disable me. Since last Sunday week I have not been out of my house, and it is with difficulty and great pain I can even walk from one room to another . . . I assure you, that duty to my constituents and inclination [See p. 68; also note 110, chapter XI] both prompt me to join in the councils of my country, and more especially at this very interesting period." The two others *may*, of course, have been loath to attend (See note 113, chapter III; *Jay*, note 39, *supra*; and note 110, chapter XI), or may have remained in Maryland because they had other duties to perform (See p. 272) or because—and this is the most probable—"a majority of them, or any three or more of them," were sufficient to represent the Colony. Certainly, Johnson was in Congress on September 20th, for he (together with Paca, Chase and Stone) signs a letter dated Philadelphia on that day; and we know that Chase—writing of the advantages of Annapolis over Baltimore for the accommodation of Congress—says, in a letter dated Annapolis, December 18th: "[NM] I imagine M^r. Tilghman, M^r. Carroll . . . are with you."

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Hooper also cannot have signed any Declaration — on paper — on July 4th; for Hewes writes from Philadelphia, to Samuel Johnston, July 8th: "What has become of my friend Hooper? [See p. 83.] I expected to have seen him here ere now . . . My friend Penn came time enough [See p. 139] to give his vote for Independence. I send you the Declaration of Independence enclosed . . . I had the weight of North-Carolina on my shoulders within a day or two of three months. The service was too severe. I have set some days from six in the morning until five and sometimes six in the afternoon, without eating or drinking. My health was bad; such close attention made it worse. I nevertheless obstinately persisted in doing my duty to the best of my judgment and abilities, and attended Congress the whole time, one day only excepted . . ."

He arrived on July 23d; for Hewes writes, to Johnston, on the 24th: "[PD] N B. M! Hooper came to Town last evening. I have not yet seen him —" He, Hewes and Penn sign a letter to their Council of Safety on the 29th.

#

Nor was R. H. Lee (See p. 212) nor Wythe (See p. 214) nor Wolcott (See p. 211) nor Williams (See p. 56 and note 99, *post*) in Congress on July 4th.

⁵² This word is probably in the letter; but the letter is so bound with others that one cannot be sure.

⁵³ This is now in the rotunda of the Capitol in Washington.

Unfortunately, we have not been able to find the opinion of *any one who was present*. *Jefferson* says simply — in a letter (Also, see p. 203) to Madison, dated Monticello, October 24, 1823: "[S] I have received Trumbull's print of the Declⁿ of Independence . . ."

⁵⁴ *No draft which has the signatures of the members*, other than the one on parchment, can *now* be found; nor has History left any trace of its existence *at any time*, so far as we know, except

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this statement of Jefferson and his statement (See *Appendix*, p. 297) on the slip pasted onto his *notes*.

⁵⁵ It will be seen, however, that nowhere in his *letters to Wells* does he mention a Declaration "on paper".

⁵⁶ See *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* by Paul Leicester Ford; Bancroft's; *History of Philadelphia* by Sharf and Westcott; "The Authentication", etc., (See note 18, *supra*); *Life of the Hon. Thomas McKean* by Buchanan; *Niles' Weekly Register* (C and N) of August 5, 1826; "The Birth of the American Republic," etc., in *Potter's*, etc., (C) for July, 1875; "Signing of the Declaration of Independence" by Benson J. Lossing in *ibid.* (C) for October, 1875; "The Story of the Signing" in *Scribner's Monthly* for July, 1876; "The Declaration of Independence" by M. M. Baldwin in the *Magazine of American History* (N) for December, 1888; *The Declaration of Independence*, etc., by Peter Force; *The Life of Thomas Jefferson* by Randall; and *The Declaration of Independence* by Friedenwald.

⁵⁷ See p. 170.

⁵⁸ See p. 170.

⁵⁹ Of course, *part* of the entry of July 19th relates to August 2d: see next paragraph.

⁶⁰ See *Life of the Hon. Thomas McKean* by Buchanan, facing p. 45.

⁶¹ These entries are in reddish brown ink, and evidently in the same ink. The color of the other entries on the page (including, of course, "July 19, 1776") is dark brown; and they seem to be in the same ink. The line — "Resolved That . . . fairly en ⊕" — is *interlined* between "July 19, 1776" and an entry (not given in the text) under that date. The entry immediately below this entry under July 19th (not given in the text, as stated) is under date of November 27th. It seems certain, therefore, that the entries given in the text were *inserted* in the *secret domestic Journal after* July 19th, and at the same time, but when, we do not know.

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⁶² The letters "N P" (as well as the two marks "+" "+") are in darker ink (even than the rest of the page) and were, without doubt, added, seemingly by some other hand than Thomson's, long after the Declaration on parchment was signed. Indeed, the "N P" and the "+" before "⊕ grossed" are evidently in a different hand than the "+" below "Resolved" and would seem to have been added even later than this "+".

⁶³ See facing p. 204. See also *Appendix*, pp. 296 and 297.

⁶⁴ See, however, note 12, chapter IV.

⁶⁵ It seems certain that the word "present" (after the word "member") was not in the *notes* as written out in form; and we believe that — doubtless suggested by the facts (disclosed by M:Kean's letter to Messrs. Wm. M'Corkle & Son) that the new Delegates from Pennsylvania and Thornton were not present on July 4th — it was *inserted* at the time of writing (May 12, 1819) his first letter to Wells: see *Appendix*, note 20.

⁶⁶ See *Appendix*, note 19.

⁶⁷ See *Appendix*, p. 297.

⁶⁸ For another portion of this letter, see p. 242.

⁶⁹ Chase's letter — dated "[Qy] Annapolis. July. 5th 1776. Fryday Afternoon." — says: "Your Letter of the 1st [See p. 160] conveys both pleasure and Grief. I hope ere this Time the decisive blow is struck. Oppression, Inhumanity and Perfidy have compelled Us to it. blessed be Men who effect the Work, I envy You! how shall I transmit to posterity that I gave my assent? cursed be the Man that ever endeavors to unite Us . . . I have sent You our Paper and some Resolves of our Convention — do they not do Us Honor . . . I cannot conclude without requesting my most respectful Compliments to M: [Samuel] Adams Col: Hancock e: e: and all independent Americans."

⁷⁰ Also, see p. 119.

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Also, see note 15, chapter XIII.

⁷¹ This, it will be noted, was over five years before Jefferson enclosed (first) to John Adams the letter which he had just written to Wells. (See note 29, *supra*.) Indeed, see p. 119.

⁷² Also, see *Appendix*, note 20.

⁷³ See note 15, *supra*.

⁷⁴ It was returned in a letter dated February 12th. Mrs. Warren says therein that she has had a copy made.

⁷⁵ We are unable to find any record of his having done so.

⁷⁶ The table now in "Independence Hall", it is claimed, is the very table upon which this signing took place; and the inkstand there preserved, and the President's chair, also are stated to be the originals.

⁷⁷ See facing p. 208 and facing p. 218. For the wording, punctuation, etc., see *Appendix*, p. 306 *et seq.* (or facing p. 208).

⁷⁸ This resolution, it will be noted, was not passed until some days after the reading in Congress (See note 25, chapter VIII) of the resolution of the Convention of New York. See p. 220.

⁷⁹ "[PHM] Cloudy cool morning wind westerly . . ."

"[MsJ] 6 - - - - A. M. 77.
8 - - - - P. M. 80"

⁸⁰ This entry, in the *corrected* Journal, is as follows :

The declaration of independence being ingrossed and compared at the table was signed by the members.

It has already been shown (See p. 204) how it appears in the *secret domestic* Journal.

⁸¹ Jefferson, as we have seen (See p. 203), says that it was compared "with the original one signed on paper . . ." (This would mean, *evidently*, with the draft, in *his handwriting*, submitted to Congress on June 28th—whether or not this "one signed on paper" was ever in fact signed or not.) If this is true, it would not be at all improbable that Jefferson's draft "on paper" was

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lost or destroyed at this time, after the comparison. If lost or destroyed at the time of printing the first broadside (See note 38, chapter VII), however, the comparison (on August 2d) must, it would seem, have been made with one of these *broadsides* (unless the "Rough draught" — See between pp. 144 and 145 — was used); but, of course, *if* the draft "on paper" was signed on July 4th as Jefferson claims, this "paper" draft would, no doubt, have been cared for properly.

⁸² See *The Life of Benjamin Franklin*.

⁸³ If, however, Gwinnett left before the 2d (See p. 215), he doubtless signed first. Also, see note 107, *post*.

⁸⁴ Bancroft says that Samuel Adams signed next; M. M. Baldwin, in "The Declaration of Independence" (See the *Magazine of American History*, N, for December, 1888), and Lora S. La Mance, in "The Men who signed" (See *Lippincott's*, C, for July, 1901), say that Bartlett signed next. Bancroft gives no ground for his statement and the others evidently reason from a false premise.

⁸⁵ See p. 135.

⁸⁶ Sanderson seems to be substantiated by the facts. Hopkins' signature to a *draft* dated East Greenwich, September 15, 1770, in the possession of John D. Crimmins of New York City and his signature to a *letter* dated Philadelphia, August 17, 1776, in the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet now in the New York Public Library (Lenox) are of similar character. Indeed, a letter from Hopkins himself and Ellery (written probably by Ellery), to Governor Cooke, dated June 8, 1776, says: "[G] The correspondence between the Colony and its delegates, which by the death of Mr. Ward, and the great inconvenience which attends Mr. Hopkins in writing, hath for some time past been interrupted, we wish might be resumed."

⁸⁷ See *The Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, etc.

⁸⁸ A letter so signed dated August 11, 1772, to Walter Du-

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lany and a receipt so signed dated May 18, 1774, are in the collection of Theodore Bailey Myers now in the New York Public Library (Lenox). A letter so addressed dated August 3, 1775, from his father is in The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, in Madison. Besides, the Journal, in giving the credentials of the Delegates of Maryland, presented to Congress on July 18, 1776, gives his name as "of Carrollton".

⁸⁹ Langdon does not seem to have appeared in Congress after a leave of absence in December, 1775. On July 17, 1776, Bartlett writes to him: "If you are absolutely determined to resign, and should do it . . . you must see that another is appointed in your stead, to come here in about a month, to supply Colonel Whipple's place, who is determined then to return [See note 115, *post*]"; and, eight days later, he (Langdon) was appointed Agent of Prizes for New Hampshire.

See note 49, chapter V.

#

Whipple writes to Bartlett, November 16th: "[Tr] Our Colleague is as well as can be expected, the operation of small pox has kept him two days from Congress I hope he will be able to attend in a few days."

⁹⁰ He adds that Read is in attendance with him.

⁹¹ See *Appendix*, p. 300. Also, see p. 194 (and notes 18, 20, 21 and 22, *supra*) and *Appendix*, pp. 302 and 305.

⁹² See note 21, *supra*.

⁹³ Sanderson says: "[B] Mr. Gerry . . . as slender and spare as Mr. Harrison was vigorous and portly, stood beside him at the table, while signing the Declaration. He turned round to him with a smile, as he raised his hand from the paper, and said, 'When the hanging scene comes to be exhibited, I shall have all the advantage over you. It will be over with me in a minute, but you will be kicking in the air for an hour after I am gone.'"

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This story, however, can be true only if we admit that, as Jefferson asserts, the Declaration was signed first — on paper — on July 4th and then only as to *that* signing; for, as shown in the text, Gerry was absent on August 2d, and Harrison had returned to Virginia (See note 20, chapter VI) — not having been reelected — before Gerry came back.

⁹⁴ Also, see his letter of June 12th, note 46, chapter IV.

⁹⁵ Charles J. Hoadly writes (See *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, ser. 2, vol. 3, p. 374): "Each colony paid its own delegation. Oliver Wolcott in his account charges for attending Congress from Jan. 4 to July 4, 1776, inclusive, 182 days; and from Sept. 24, 1776, to May 12, 1777, inclusive, 231 days. These dates are, respectively, those on which he set out from and returned home."

⁹⁶ Taken from *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, ser. 2, vol. 3, p. 374.

⁹⁷ He writes from Philadelphia, November 29th, to Timothy Edwards: "[N] I should probably have attended with you at the Indian Conference in July had my health permitted —" Also, see note 99, *post*.

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On March 22d, he writes from Philadelphia to Andrew Adams: "[Tr] I hope We may in Time be able with Tolerable Success to Combat G Britain upon that Eliment which she boasts herself the Mistress of — but still We shall be obliged to remember that Rome was not built in a day, tho she finally became Mistress of the World — the World We shall not Covet but so much of America as may be needfull for us, I hope We shall injoy without any earthly controul — you mention the efficacy of common sense, the leading Sentiment which it dictates I am sensible Very greatly prevails — some People will still please themselves with the delusive Phanntom of Commissioners coming over, with the Proffers of Peace — but I believe it is

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Very certain they have nothing in their Hands but Pardons for Rebels . . . The british Court mean only to have America under their feet, and I fancy will hardly attempt even to disguise their Intention — When that is once known the little hesitancy which still remains, I imagine will Vanish — The Colonies will enter no Seperate Negotiation, and the Congress will not yield any essential Claim — The important Crisis which must stamp the Character of America must be Near — and I do not perceive that it's approach produces but Very few sad faces —”

On August 14th, he writes from Litchfield to Andrew Adams : “[Cs] The ridiculous King of G B. and his ridiculous Ministers must (if capable of it) have most exquisite Sensations by this Time — But it matters not as [?] to us what they either feel or think, let them continue the Curses to that Nation who are willing to bear them —”

⁹⁸ He writes from Philadelphia, to his wife, June 11th : “[MsS] Every Thing is tending to the lasting Independency of these Colonies . . . This year will probably be productive of great and most interesting Consequences . . . By the Blessing of God I enjoy Health, which demands my gratitude. The Service is hard, and affords but little Time for Exercise ; but I hope before next month is out, to be upon my return to my Family . . .” (A letter from him to his wife dated May 4th also says : “[Mn] I am well . . .”)

⁹⁹ See note 95, *supra*. See, however, note 56, chapter XI.

Certainly, he arrived on or before the 9th ; for the minutes of the Governor and Council for that day say : “Colonel Wolcott was present this day,” and, for the 11th : “Colonel Oliver Wolcott having lately returned home from the Continental Congress, by reason of ill health ; and it being the opinion of this Board, that it is of importance that the Colony should have a full representation in Congress . . . and by a letter from Colonel Wolcott, expressing also his desire that another member

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should attend, &c.; this Board, having at turns discoursed on the subject, at several days and times, do conclude, that William Williams, Esq., do, as soon as may be, repair to and attend said Congress, as one of the Delegates appointed by the General Assembly—Mr. Hosmer and he having discoursed, and partly agreed, on which should attend, &c.”

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Williams was still in attendance upon the Council on the 19th. On the 26th, however, Trumbull writes *to* him, from Lebanon: “This letter may be communicated, as you see fit, with my compliments, to the other Delegates, &c.” Also, see p. 216.

¹⁰⁰ Bancroft is mistaken: he says he had returned from Richmond by August 2d.

¹⁰¹ See *Lewis Morris*, note 39, *supra*.

¹⁰² See note 52, chapter IV.

R. H. Lee, the grandson, in *Memoir*, etc., however, says: “On the evening of the tenth, Mr. Lee received, by express from Virginia, the distressing intelligence that his lady was dangerously ill. This circumstance compelled him to ask leave of absence for a short time. He left Philadelphia on the eleventh instant . . .”

¹⁰³ We have already seen (See p. 72) a letter of April 5th from General Charles Lee and one of April 12th from Page to R. H. Lee.

On April 13th, Thomas Ludwell Lee wrote to R. H. Lee: “[M⁸] General Lee thinks, as I do, that the American cause would be greatly served by your attendance in Convention, which meets on the 2d May. You will find there a noble spirit, worthy to be cherished, and which if not regulated and directed by a skilful hand, may dissipate in idle fume, or be blasted by the arts of sly timidity.”

Again, on May 18th, he wrote: “[M⁸] Col. Mason came to town [Williamsburg] yesterday after the arrival of the Post;

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I showed him your letter, and he thinks with me that your presence here is of the last consequence. He designs to tell you so by letter to-day. All your friends agree in this opinion. Col. Nelson is on his way to Congress, which removes the objection respecting a quorum of Delegates . . . let us have the satisfaction to see you assisting in the great work of this Convention —”

Indeed, his own letter of June 13th (See note 52, chapter IV) says: “. . . inclose the same to me at Williamsburg . . .”

His grandson, in *Memoir*, etc., however, says, that he was called to Virginia by the sickness of his wife: see note 102, *supra*. Also, see note 50, chapter IV, and note 50, chapter VII.

¹⁰⁴ Wythe writes to Robert Carter, June 17th: “[Tr] Col. Lee is so obliging as to take with him the stocking-loom needles, with some wire, which I brought for you from Philadelphia to Hooe’s ferry, where I now am . . . Mrs Wythe is in good health. Our best respects to mrs Carter and all the family at Normony.”

¹⁰⁵ Lee had, previous to this, left Williamsburg; for, on this day, Andrew Lewis writes *thence* to him.

¹⁰⁶ On this day, Andrew Lewis writes from “[M¹] Camp at Horn Point” to R. H. Lee: “Last Sunday [the 28th] I expected to have the pleasure of seeing you at Col. Richard Lee’s, where I dined.”

¹⁰⁷ Jefferson writes, from Philadelphia, to Page, July 20th: “Having declined serving here the next year, I shall be with you at the first session of our assembly. I purpose to leave this place the 11th of August, having so advised Mrs. Jefferson by last post, and every letter brings me such an account of the state of her health, that it is with great pain that I can stay here till then. but Braxton purposing to leave us the day after tomorrow [He evidently changed his mind; for John Adams’ *debates* show that he was present on July 26th], the colony would be unrepres-

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sented were I to go, before the 11th. I hope to see Col. Lee and Mr. Wythe here, tho' the stay of the latter will I hope be short, as he must not be spared from the important department of the law." (Taken from *The New England Historical & Genealogical Register*, XX, 69. It is there published as a communication from James Parker of Springfield, Mass.)

¹⁰⁸ See note 12, chapter IV.

¹⁰⁹ See note 3, chapter VII.

¹¹⁰ See *Biographical Sketches of the Delegates from Georgia to the Continental Congress*.

¹¹¹ Walton took his seat on December 12th; and, on the same day, as shown by the Journal, it was "Resolved That this congress be for the present adjourned to the town of Baltimore in the state of Maryland to meet on the 20th instant unless a sufficient number to make a Congress shall be there sooner assembled[.]" The entry (in the Journal) for the 20th shows only that "The delegates from Georgia produced the credentials of their appointment which were read as follows . . ."

¹¹² See p. 211 (and note 95, *supra*) and p. 257.

¹¹³ See *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, ser. 2, vol. 3, p. 374.

‡

The receipt spoken of in the text (according to a certified copy) uses the words "for defraying my Expense now going to & Attending the Continental Congress".

¹¹⁴ See, however, Jefferson's *notes*, p. 218. (John Adams writes to his wife, August 25th: "[Ad] Mr. Paine is recovered of his illness . . .")

¹¹⁵ Bartlett writes to Langdon, August 11th: "Colonel Whipple sets off to-morrow morning for Portsmouth . . . Aug. 13. Colonel Whipple left us for New Hampshire yesterday at two o'clock." John Adams writes to his wife, August 12th: "Mr. [Samuel] A[dams]. sets off to-day, if the rain should not prevent

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him, with Colonel Whipple . . . a sensible and worthy man . . . I repeat my request that you would ask some of the members of the General Court if they can send me horses; and if they cannot, that you would send them. I can live no longer without a servant and a horse." "Mr. A. and Colonel Whipple are at length gone . . . They went about three o'clock this afternoon."

¹¹⁶ We have already seen John Adams' letter of June 12th (See note 46, chapter IV). Two days before (July 25th) the letter in the text was written, he wrote to the Deputy Secretary of Massachusetts: "[J] I find myself under a necessity of applying to the honorable General Court for leave to return home . . . I beg leave to propose . . . an alteration in their plan of delegation in Congress . . . For myself, I must entreat the General Court to give me leave to resign . . . The consideration of my own health and the circumstances of my family and private affairs would have little weight with me, if the sacrifice of these was necessary for the public; but it is not. Because those parts of the business of Congress for which, if for any, I have my qualifications, being now nearly completed . . . there are multitudes of gentlemen in the province much fitter for the public service here than I am." Then came his letter of August 12th to his wife (See note 115, *supra*). Two days later, he wrote — again to his wife — to the same effect. His *Diary* for October 13th says: "[J] Set out from Philadelphia toward Boston."

¹¹⁷ Indeed, Penn writes to the Committee of Safety, September 16th: "[NC] I wrote to you by Thomas Hayward, Esq., one of the Delegates of So: Carolina . . ."

¹¹⁸ He (Heyward) writes, to Dr. John Morgan, from Philadelphia, September 4th: "[PD] I purpose to set out for S^c Carolina in the Morning."

¹¹⁹ See note 106, *supra*.

¹²⁰ See notes 62 and 71, chapter II; note 3, chapter VII;

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and the portion of the text (and notes) relating to the absence on August 2d of R. H. Lee and Wythe, p. 212.

¹²¹ This is *not* interlined in the copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783.

¹²² This evidently does not include the President.

¹²³ The copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783 reads as follows: "July 30. 31. Aug. 1. present 41. members. m^r Chase . . ."

¹²⁴ He writes from Philadelphia on the 23d: "[NE] We should likewise be glad of a Copy of that part of your Minutes which ascertains what Number of Delegates shall represent the Province in Congress. I am told you have made one Delegate sufficient for this Purpose: but as I have no good Authority for this Opinion and was the other Day the only Member [See p. 161 and note 10, chapter X] from Jersey attending in Congress, I was in great Doubt as to the Propriety of giving my Vote."

¹²⁵ See note 38 *supra*.

CHAPTER X

¹ Of course, see chapter XI. See also note 97, chapter IX.

² This undoubtedly refers to the main debate, in the committee of the whole, on July 1st, on the *resolution* declaring independence and *not* to the debate upon the *form of the Declaration itself*, as the language would imply.

³ The original of this letter is in the collection of Ferdinand J. Dreer now in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia.

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For a letter of the 9th to Chase, see p. 242. Of course, see also p. 223.

⁴ For a letter of Ellery of this date, see note 26, chapter XI.

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⁵ He writes again, to his brother(?), August 3d: "[PD] Since I finished my other Letter have been up at Congress . . . I believe I shall never be able to get that scoundrel to make Betsey's & Sally's Shooses . . . I have (without the least Expectation of being gratified) a Strong desire to be at Home once more", and, certainly to his brother, August 28th: "I have at last got from the shoemaker and sent down by the post Betsy's and Sally's shoes. I don't know which pair is Betsy's or which is Sally's; this they must find out themselves, if they ever come safe to hand. However, I know they are very dear, to wit: 14 s. 6 d. a pair."

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A letter dated July 17th, also to Thomas Rodney, says: "[Hs] Almost all the tradesmen of every kind have left the City. I have not now a barber to shave me. In consequence of a bad cold caught on the last week by some means or other unknown to me, and getting very wet on Sunday in returning from Congress, I have been ever since then confined to my room, but am now so much better as to be able to attend this morning."

⁶ Wells (See *The Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams*), by mistake, gives this as *New Jersey*.

⁷ They had, however, received a copy from their Delegates: see p. 185.

⁸ Paul Leicester Ford (See *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 2, p. 42, note 1) says that Jefferson, sometime between July 4th and 10th, sent to Page a copy of the Declaration (in his — Jefferson's — handwriting) as *submitted* to Congress.

If so, this evidently refers to this copy.

It must be remembered, however, that an abstract of the Declaration as adopted by Congress appeared in *The Virginia Gazette* of the 19th; and that, on the day this letter was written to Jefferson, Page wrote to Hancock also (See p. 273), acknowl-

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edging the receipt of a *printed* Declaration sent on the 8th, and that he doubtless knew from R. H. Lee (See p. 212) that Jefferson had been chosen chairman of the committee to draft the Declaration and from Fleming (See note 3, chapter VII), if from no other source, that Jefferson drew the Declaration.

Moreover, Page makes no comment on the changes made by Congress, which would have been, it would seem, only natural, if he had before him a copy of the Declaration as submitted to Congress as well as a printed copy. At least, R. H. Lee and Pendleton, to each of whom, we know, Jefferson sent a manuscript copy, so commented: see *Appendix*, pp. 344 and 350, respectively.

It may very well be, therefore, that "*your Declaration*" refers simply to *the* Declaration, a *printed* copy of which he had just received from Hancock.

On the other hand, the copy of the Declaration as submitted to Congress which Jefferson sent to R. H. Lee was sent on July 8th (See *Appendix*, p. 344) — the same day that Hancock's letter to Page was sent. If, therefore, Jefferson sent to Page a similar copy on the same day on which he sent the one to R. H. Lee, it would have been received, in all probability, with Hancock's letter; and the 20th — the date of this letter to Jefferson — would have been the natural date for an acknowledgment.

⁹ See p. 72.

¹⁰ He writes from "Elizabeth Town", July 14th: "[N] soon after my going [See note 13, chapter V] to Congress at Phil^a we had news [See note 3, chapter VII] of Gen^l Howes Arrival at Sandy-hook, and a few days after of his Landing on Staten Island . . . I continued at Phil^a till Thursday last [the 11th] when I returned homeward . . . Our Declaration of Independance I dare say you have seen —"

The letter of August 6th given in the text would seem to indicate, however, that he had returned by August 2d; and, indeed,

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the Journal shows that he was chosen upon a committee on July 29th and John Adams' *debates* show that he was present on the 30th.

¹¹ Jefferson, in his letter to Gardner of February 9, 1813, says: "[P] for many excellent persons opposed it [a declaration of independence] on doubts whether we were provided sufficiently with the means of supporting it, whether the minds of our constituents were yet prepared to receive it &c. who, after it was decided, united zealously in the measures it called for."

¹² See pp. 96 and 103.

¹³ Both Reed, the biographer, and Force give the date as of the 20th. The 20th was Saturday.

¹⁴ For his letter of April 6th, see p. 98.

¹⁵ Taken from *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (N) of September 25th. It is headed: "Boston, Sept. 12."

¹⁶ Taken from *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (N) of August 7th. It purports to be a communication from New York, dated the 5th. See also *The New-York Gazette*, etc., (C) of August 5th; *The New-York Journal*, etc., (C) of the 8th; *The New-England Chronicle* (MsS) of the 15th; and *The Freeman's Journal*, etc., (Con) of the 17th.

¹⁷ The fact of its announcement in the newspapers in London appears in *The Connecticut Gazette*, etc., (N) of December 27th.

See "London Newspapers of 1776 and the Declaration of Independence" by "D.D." in *The Nation* (C and N) of February 17, 1898.

¹⁸ See notes 42 and 43, chapter VII.

¹⁹ Taken from *The Daily Advertiser* (C) of London of November 1st.

²⁰ He had been ill with the gout.

²¹ Taken from *The Continental Gazette*, etc., (Bos) of February 27, 1777.

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²² *The Virginia Gazette* (C) of February 28, 1777, publishes, as a communication from London, dated November 23, 1776, the following: "Sunday morning last the wife of a journeyman bricklayer, it [in] Petticoat lane was delivered of three children who were baptised by the names of HANCOCK, ADAMS, and WASHINGTON. Hancock died the day of his birth, but Adams and Washington are in perfect health."

²³ Silas Deane writes from Paris, August 18th: "The declaration . . . is announced in the English papers [See p. 232], but I have received no despatches on the event, though I am in daily expectation of them."

Not until November 20th does he write, to the Count de Vergennes, as follows: "[NE] In pursuance of the Orders of the honorable Congress, to me expressed by Letters, bearing date, the 8th of July last and of the 7th of August following, I have the honor to deliver your Excellency, the enclosed Declaration of independence of the United States of North America, and to inform you that by the first of said Letters, the Congress appears to have been unanimous in this important resolution . . . They also say ' . . . The Declaration of Independence meets with universal Approbation, and the people seem everywhere animated still more by it in defence of their Country.' I will not detain your Excellency longer, than just to observe, that by the first Letter, dated July 8th which must have been intercepted, it appears that the Congress took measures, immediately after declaring their independancy, to have the same announced in Europe, and first of all to the Court of France . . ."

Eight days later, he writes to the Secret Committee (?): "Your favor of the 7 of August last covering Copy of yours of ye 8 July I rec'd tho the Original never came to hand— This Letter also enclosed the Declaration of Independency with Instructions to make it known to this, & the other powers of Europe, and I received it the 17. Instant, tho the Vessel

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which bro't it, had but 38 days passage from Salem. This letter was very farr from relieving me, as it inclosed what had been Circulated thro' Europe for two months before, and my pretending to inform this Court, could be only a matter of form . . . As the Copy was dated 8 July I took Occation to observe that the honorable Congress, had taken the earliest Opportunity of informing this Court . . . and as their independency was now in form declared, the Queries I had formerly put, in Consequence of my first Instructions, might now be resolved, and I hoped favorably—To this I was answered, unless France, by a public Acknowledgement of your independency, makes war on G. Britain in your favor what service can such Acknowledgement be of to the United States? You are known here. Our Ports are open, & free for your Commerce, and your Ships are protected in them, and greater indulgencies allowed than to any other Nation. If France should be obliged to make War on England it will be much more just, and honorable, in the Eyes of the World to make it on some other Account, & if made at all, it is the same thing to the United States of America, & in one important View better for them to have it Originate from any other Cause, as America, will be under the less immediate Obligation—further France has Alliances, and cannot resolve a Question which must perhaps involve her in a War, without previously Consulting them, meantime the United States can receive the same succours, & Assistance from France, without as well as with, such an open Acknowledgement perhaps much more advantageously." (Taken from *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XI, 199. The original is in the collection of Ferdinand J. Dreer now in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia.)

On December 3d, he says, to Jay: "I presented the Declaration of Independence to this Court, after indeed it had

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become an old story in every part of Europe ; it was well received . . .”

²⁴ See note 23, *supra*.

²⁵ Franklin writes to Philip Mazzei : “[X] I am myself much pleased that you have sent a translation of our Declaration of Independence to the Grand Duke . . .” This translation may have been made from the copy sent to Mazzei by Jefferson (See *Appendix*, p. 345).

CHAPTER XI

¹ See notes 38 and 39, chapter VII.

² A number also of printed copies, as shown by letters quoted, were sent by individual Delegates to their friends. Moreover, on August 22d, the Marine Committee write to Commodore Hopkins : “ We deliver you herewith . . . several of the printed Declarations of Independence. They may do well to notify the inhabitants of the French Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon of this Declaration, and sound how the inhabitants stand affected towards us . . .”

³ A copy of the order given in the text, *in the handwriting of Hancock*, is in the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet now in the New York Public Library (Lenox). A *facsimile* is to be found in *The Story of the Revolution* by Henry Cabot Lodge, vol. I, p. 171. It is evidently the copy sent to New Jersey with this copy of the Declaration ; for the page upon which it is written is headed : “ [N] In Congress July 5th 1776 — ” and it is preceded on the page by a copy of a resolution directing that the British prisoners in New Jersey be sent to York, Pa., and that the Convention or Committee of Safety of New Jersey carry the resolution into effect.

⁴ See note 21, chapter VIII.

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⁵ Clymer was chairman and Joseph Parker, Samuel Howell, Owen and James Biddell, Samuel Morris, Jr., Thomas Wharton, Jr., George Gray, Samuel Miles and Daniel Roberdeau also were present.

⁶ On this day, the Declaration appeared for the first time in a newspaper — in *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* (C and N). (John Adams, on the 7th, wrote his wife: “[Qy] I have this Moment folded up a Magazine, and an Evening Post and sent it off, by an Express, who could not wait for me to write a single Line.”) It appeared in *Dunlap’s*, etc., (C) of the 8th; in *German* in *Henrich Millers Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote* (PH and Rid) of the 9th; in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (N) and in *The Pennsylvania Journal*, etc., (C) of the 10th; and in *The Pennsylvania Ledger: Or the Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New-Jersey Weekly Advertiser* (C and Rid) of the 13th.

(See note 41, chapter VII.)

⁷ In *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XVI, 308, is a *facsimile* of the bill rendered — by Michael Kuhn — for carrying these letters. A note says that the original is in the possession of Edward C. Biddle. The items are as follows: “To Go as an Express to Chester County 4 days”, £3; to Lancaster County, four days, £3; “to Potts Grove &c”, three and a half days, £2, 12s, 6d; and to Bucks County, four days, £3. The following is endorsed upon the bill: “Pay the above account being for services done by order of the Committee of Safety as pr the above account — Owen Biddle 10th July 1776 To John Nixon Esq. & others the Committee of Acc-.”

⁸ The Committee of Safety, according to Hancock’s letter, given in the text, it would appear, received from him but *one* copy — printed by Dunlap under the order of Congress. The copies sent by them to the various Counties, therefore, it also would appear, must have been either hand-copies or other printed copies.

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Dr. I. Minis Hays thinks (See *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 39) that they were copies printed by Dunlap *especially for the purpose under an order of the Committee of Safety*. He bases his belief mainly upon the facts that there is in the Society a broadside of the Declaration (For *fac-simile*, see *ibid.*) on vellum which, though printed by Dunlap, differs from — in that it is larger than, etc. — the one printed by him under the order of Congress and that this was found among the papers of a member (David Rittenhouse) of that Committee. (It was presented to the Society, September 19, 1828, by Mease.) (It is headed: "In CONGRESS, July 4, 1776. | A DECLARATION | By the REPRESENTATIVES of the | UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, | In GENERAL CONGRESS assembled." and has at the bottom, after the printed attestations of Hancock and Thomson: "Printed by JOHN DUNLAP.")

We, however, have failed to find any record of such an order by the Committee of Safety, and question, therefore, whether the Declaration was not printed by Dunlap *for the second time* (*when*, we do not know, though doubtless soon after the printing under the order of Congress) *simply to meet the public demand* — probably for the 8th; though we admit that the copies of the Declaration sent by the Committee of Safety to the various Counties *may* have been of that issue and though very likely the imprint *on vellum* now in the Society was made *especially* for the *members*, or some of them, of that Committee.

It may very well be, however, that Hancock *in fact* sent more than one copy (See note 43, *post*, and p. 271); or that the copies sent to the various Counties were some of those printed by Dunlap under the order of Congress and secured from Dunlap or, by personal application, from the Secretary of Congress; or that Miller printed a broadside and that they were some of these (See note 41, chapter VII). It even is *perhaps possible*, though not

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probable, that copies of *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* of the 6th, which contained the Declaration, were sent.

⁹ See p. 191.

¹⁰ Clymer, Howell, Owen and James Biddle, John Nixon, John Cadwalader, Parker and Wharton were present.

¹¹ *Dunlap's*, etc., (C and Rid) of this date contains the following announcement: "THIS DAY at Twelve o'clock, the DECLARATION of INDEPENDENCE, will be PROCLAIMED at the STATE-HOUSE." See also *The New-York Gazette*, etc., (NY and Rid) of July 15th.

¹² On this day, Hewes writes a letter in which he says: "A hellish plot has been lately discovered at New-York to murder General Washington and some other officers of the first rank, blow up the magazine, and spike up the cannon . . . A paper has been privately laid on the Congress table, importing that some dark designs were framing for our destruction, and advising us to take care of ourselves. Some were for examining the cellars under the room where we sit. I was against it, and urged that we ought to treat such information with contempt, and not show any mark of fear or jealousy. I told some of them I had almost as soon be blown up, as to discover to the world that I thought myself in danger. No notice has been taken of this piece of information, which I think is right."

¹³ Taken from *The Pennsylvania Journal*, etc., (C) of July 10th. *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* (C and N), of the 9th, says: "Yesterday, at twelve o'clock, INDEPENDENCY was declared at the State-House in this city, in the presence of many thousand spectators, who testified their approbations of it by repeated acclamations of joy." See also *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (N) of the 10th; *The Connecticut Courant*; and *Hartford Weekly Intelligencer* (C) of the 15th; *Dunlap's Maryland Gazette*; or the *Baltimore General Advertiser* (Ba) of the 16th; *The New-York Journal*, etc., (C) and *The New-Eng-*

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land Chronicle (C, MsS and PH) of the 18th; *The Virginia Gazette* (C) of the 19th; and *The American Gazette*, etc., (Ex) of the 23d.

¹⁴ The following members met at the Committee Chamber on this morning: Clymer (chairman), Parker, Nixon, Owen and James Biddle, Michael Hillegas, Gray, David Rittenhouse, Wharton, Cadwalader, Samuel Morris, James Mease and Howell.

¹⁵ This was probably one of the prints made by Dunlap under the order of Congress; and it is possible that it is now in the possession of Mrs. Ellen W. (Charles C.) Harrison of Philadelphia, for she has (evidently) such a print in her possession and writes us (in 1900) (See, however, note 39, chapter VII): "My Broadside was in a trunk with other valuable papers of my Grandfather, John Nixon, & it has never been out of the possession of the family. At present, it is being photographed . . . to hang in the Museum of Independence Hall." (The photographic copy here suggested is now in "Independence Hall".) (It is true that the name of Dunlap does not appear upon the photographic copy; but this does not prove that the *original* from which this photographic copy was taken has not his imprint, for C. C. Harrison writes us, under date of November 1, 1900, that the broadside is framed, so that no one can tell, "without breaking the frame", whether or not there is any printing below the printed signatures, etc.)

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A fragment of another broadside, having the heading of this Dunlap print but torn after the words "to encourage" (and the balance of it missing), is in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. On it, in pencil, is endorsed: "[PH] Found among the papers of John Nixon of Phila. & supposed to be the original from which he read the Declaration in public." Of it, however, Charles Henry Hart of Philadelphia writes us, under date of

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October 22, 1900: “. . . the endorsement . . . is in handwriting of the late Frank M. Etting who died insane one of the most inexact and inaccurate of collectors & when I asked him the authority for it he had none whatever. The one owned by Mrs. C. C. Harrison is the veritable Nixon copy.”

¹⁸ Watson says: “[V] The Declaration . . . was read . . . by Captain John Hopkins . . .”

Lossing maintains, however, that “[H] testimony appears to predominate in favor of the claims of John Nixon [one of the Committee of Safety] to that honor.”

Willis P. Hazard, in his revision of Watson's *Annals*, etc., quite fully discusses the question. Also, see note 20, *post*.

We think that there is no room for contention; for Marshall, in his *Diary*, says: “Warm sunshine morning. At eleven, went and met Committee of Inspection at Philosophical Hall; went from there in a body to the lodge; joined the Committee of Safety (as called); went in a body to State House Yard, where, in the presence of a great concourse of people, the Declaration of Independence was read by John Nixon. The company declared their approbation by three repeated huzzas. The King's Arms were taken down in the Court Room, State House same time. From there, some of us went to B. Armitage's tavern; stayed till one. I went and dined at Paul Fooks's; lay down there after dinner till five. Then he and the French Engineer went with me on the commons, where the same was proclaimed at each of the five Battalions . . . Fine starlight, pleasant evening. There were bonfires, ringing bells, with other great demonstrations of joy upon the unanimity and agreement of the declaration.” (For *facsimile* of this page of Marshall's *Diary*, see *Narrative and Critical History of America* by Justin Winsor, vol. 6, p. 273.)

Indeed, Marshall is corroborated by an extract found in *Henrich Millers Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote* (PH) of the 9th: “Gestern mittag um zwölf uhr wurde die Erklärung von Unabhängigkeit,

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welche vorn in dieser Zeitung stehet, in dem hiesigen Staatshaus Hofe, auf einem erhabenen gerüste in Englischer sprache öffentlich verkündigt und dadurch die Vereinigten Colonien von Nord-America von aller dem Könige von Grossbritannien hiebevorgelasteten pflicht und treuergebenheit von nun an und künftig gänzlich frey, ledig und losgesprochen. Die Verkündigung geschahe durch den Herrn Obersten Nixon, mit dem Herrn Scheriff William Dewees zu seiner seite; in beyseyn vieler Glieder des Congresses, der Assembly, der Generals und anderer hohen Kriegsbeamten; unten im hofe waren vielleicht einige tausend menschen, die dieser feyerlichen begebenheit beywohneten. Nach verlesung der Erklärung, wurde ein dreymaliges freudengeschrey gemacht, mit den worten: GOtt segne die Freyen Staaten von Nord-America! Hiezu kan und wird wol ein jeder echter freund dieser Colonien Ja und Amen sagen."

*

"[Sh] Mrs. Deborah Logan, who lived in the Norris mansion [on the "east side of Fifth Street"] at the time, says she distinctly heard the reading from the garden of that house." Also, see note 20, *post*.

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It may very well be, however, that Hopkins read the Declaration to some *one*, or perhaps to *all*, "of the five Battalions" of which Marshall speaks.

¹⁷ "[Sh] In the 'Autobiography of Charles Biddle' he says, 'On the memorable Fourth of July, 1776, I was in the old State-House yard when the Declaration of Independence was read. There were very few respectable people present. General * * * spoke against it, and many of the citizens who were good Whigs were much opposed to it; however, they were soon reconciled to it.' Mr. Biddle confounds July 4th, the day of the Declaration, with July 8th, the actual day of the reading. His

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statement that 'very few *respectable* people' were present, is presumed to refer to people of wealth, family, and position. In this particular Mr. Biddle agrees with Mrs. Deborah Logan, who also heard the reading. 'The first audience of the Declaration was neither very numerous or composed of the *most respectable* class of citizens.' The name of 'General * * *,' who spoke against the Declaration, is stated to be 'entirely obliterated and illegible in the manuscript.' In all probability Gen. John Dickinson is meant."

Of course, Biddle is not to be understood to mean that "General . . . spoke against" the Declaration in the yard.

See p. 221.

See note 16, *supra*.

¹⁸ See note 69, chapter IX.

¹⁹ As late as the 8th — the date of the publication in Philadelphia —, Chase writes as given in note 51, chapter IX.

²⁰ Lossing says that this was "[H] the platform of an observatory, erected near the Walnut Street front of the State House, by Rittenhouse, many years before, for the purpose of observing a transit of Venus."

Watson also describes it as "[V] the platform of 'the observatory' before erected there, by Rittenhouse, to observe the transit of Venus"; though *he* says, as we have seen, that *Hopkins* and not *Nixon* read the Declaration there. He tells us that the platform "[V] was about twenty feet high, but twelve to fifteen feet square, at fifty to sixty feet south of the house, and fifteen to twenty feet west of the main walk."

Hazard, in his revision of Watson's *Annals*, etc., quite fully discusses the subject. Among other things, he says: "Rittenhouse observed the transit at Norriton, not at the State House. The observatory was erected by the American Philosophical Society for a special committee of observation here. Rittenhouse may have directed or superintended its construction. The

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best authorities state it was read from the balcony or platform of the observatory, the popular rostrum of the day, by John Nixon, and in a loud clear voice, heard on the other side of Fifth street. The observatory stood about forty feet due west from the rear door of the present Philosophical Hall, and about the same distance south from the present eastern wing. It was of circular shape, as appears from the foundations recently discovered when perfecting the sewerage of the Square."

²¹ See note 16, *supra*.

²² Evidently of Christ Church, which was considered lukewarm. See note 58, chapter V.

²³ For part of this portion of the letter, see p. 205.

²⁴ Taken from *The Pennsylvania Journal*, etc., (C) of July 10th.

²⁵ Also, see note 16, *supra*.

²⁶ Ellery writes to his brother, July 10th (See *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, X, 320, which says that the original letter is in the possession of Miss Ellery of Newport): "We have lived to see a Period which a few years ago no human forecast could have imagined. We have lived to see these Colonies shake of[f], or rather declare themselves independent of a State which they once gloried to call their Parent . . . I send you inclosed the News-Paper of this Day, in which you will take notice that the Declaration of *Independency* was proclaimed at the State-House; but it is not published that the late King's Arms were taken from thence and the Court House that Morning and were burned that evening near the Coffee House." (He evidently "inclosed" *The Pennsylvania Gazette*; certainly *The Pennsylvania Journal*, etc., of the 10th contained the news in question — see note 24, *supra*.)

²⁷ Lossing says: "[H] The second story of the State House was occupied by the courts; and while the Continental Congress was in session below, the Provincial Assemblies met above." Also, see p. 112.

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²⁸ This must have been, it would seem, previous to the receipt of the letter from the Committee of Safety: see note 7, *supra*.

²⁹ Taken from *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* (C and N) of July 11th. See also *The Maryland Journal*, etc., (Ba) of the 17th; and *The New-England Chronicle* (MsS) of the 25th.

³⁰ *Henrich Millers Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote* (PH) of the 16th says: "Zu Easton, in Northampton County, wurde die Erklärung von Unabhängigkeit am 8ten dieses auf folgende weise verkündigt: Der Oberste und alle Stabs-Officiers des ersten battalions begaben sich nach dem Courthouse, die leichte Infanterie-compagnie marchirte dahin mit klingendem spiel und fligender fahne, die inschrift derselbigen ist die Dreyzehn Vereinigten Colonien. Nachdem die Erklärung einer grossen menge von menschen vorgelesen war, gaben selbige ihre herzliche zustimmung mit einem dreyfachen freudengeschrey, und riefen aus, GOtt erhalte lange, und Vereinige die Freyen und Unabhängigen Staaten von America."

³¹ Also, see p. 254.

³² Taken from *The Virginia Gazette* (C) of July 26th. See also *Dunlap's*, etc., (N) of July 15th; *The Maryland Gazette* (Ann) of the 25th; and *The Scots Magazine* (C) for August.

³³ Taken from *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* (A and N) of July 13th. See also *Dunlap's*, etc., (N) of July 15th; *The New-York Journal*, etc., (C) of the 18th; *The Connecticut Courant*, etc., (C) of the 22d; *The Connecticut Gazette*, etc., (N) of the 26th; *The Boston-Gazette*, etc., (C) of the 29th; and *The Scots Magazine* (C) for August.

³⁴ See *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* for July, 1892.

³⁵ See p. 251.

³⁶ Taken from *The Story of an Old Farm*, etc., by Andrew D. Mellick, Jr. He gives also a description by Lieutenant Ebenezer Elmer of the reception of the Declaration at "brigade headquarters" on the 15th, on which occasion Parson Caldwell gave

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the toast. Colonel Dayton himself writes, from Fort Stanwix (as shown by what is endorsed "[N] Coppy Sent Ab^m Clark July 20th") : "Friday 13th Instant I marched from the German Flats for this place where I arrived safe the 16th . . . I left at the Flats . . . your good friend the Parson & Cap^t Bloomfield with his company . . . Major Barber is worth his weight in gold to this Continent — Officers & men here seem pleased with the declaration of Independency for my part I must confess I should have rejoiced at a reconciliation with our old friends & brothers upon honourable terms for many reasons —"

³⁷ See p. 193.

³⁸ The editions of *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence* which we have examined do not contain all of the extract here given. It is taken from *The Delaware Register* (PH) for February, 1838.

³⁹ We have been unable to find any other mention of such a letter.

We know, however, that *Hancock*, on the 5th, enclosed to Haslet a copy of the Declaration, which, he said, "you will please to have read at the head of your battalion."

⁴⁰ There is among the Washington papers (formerly in the Department of State) now in the Library of Congress a broadside printed by Dunlap under the order of Congress.

⁴¹ See note 12, *supra*.

⁴² For what took place in the Convention — at White Plains — on this day, see p. 185.

⁴³ Hancock, as the text shows (Also, see note 40, *supra*), sent to Washington "the enclosed Declaration". Where these "several of the Declarations" came from, therefore and in view of (See note 50, *post*) the dates of the printing of the Declaration by *The New-York Journal*, etc., and by *The New-York Gazette*, etc., we do not know. (Indeed, Washington, on the 9th, sent a copy to the General Court of Massachusetts and another to General Ward.) Of course, however, Washington himself

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may have had them printed or otherwise prepared; or Hugh Gainé may have printed his broadside (See note 68, *post*) in time; or see note 24, chapter VIII, but see note 50, *post*; or Hancock may in fact (See note 8, *supra*, and p. 271), which would seem to be the most plausible explanation, have sent more than one copy.

⁴⁴ See note 48, *post*.


⁴⁵ See note 53, *post*.

⁴⁶ A bronze tablet, near the west corner of the south front of the City Hall, seems approximately to mark the spot.

⁴⁷ Taken from the copy (formerly in the Department of State and now in the Library of Congress) made by Richard Varick.

⁴⁸ *The Virginia Gazette* (C) of July 26th says: “. . . the DECLARATION of INDEPENDENCE was read at the head of each brigade of the continental army posted at and near New York, and every where received with loud huzzas and the utmost demonstrations of joy.” See also *The New-York Journal*, etc., (C) of July 11th; *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* (A and N) of the 13th; *The Connecticut Courant*, etc., (C) of the 15th; *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (N) of the 17th; *The New-England Chronicle* (MsS) of the 18th; *The Connecticut Gazette*, etc., (N) of the 19th; *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, etc., (C) of the 20th; *The American Gazette*, etc., (Ex) of the 23d; *The Maryland Gazette* (Ann) of the 25th; and *The Scots Magazine* (C) for August.

⁴⁹ Also, see note 48, *supra*, and p. 206.

⁵⁰ The Declaration appears, on a separate page, in *The New-York Journal*, etc., (C) of this date. For its heading, see note 24, chapter VIII. At the bottom is: “NEW-YORK: Printed by JOHN HOLT, in Water-Street.” On another page of the paper appears the following: “ *The Declaration of the United States of America*, is inserted in this paper, in the present form to oblige a number of our Customers, who intend to separate it from the

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rest of the paper and fix it up, in open view, in their Houses, as a mark of their approbation of the INDEPENDENT SPIRIT of their Representatives."

(The "July 9th" endorsed on the copy, printed by Holt, in the New York State Library does not prove, we think, that it was printed by July 9th or that it is not one of these — especially in view of the "N^o 29". See note 24, chapter VIII.)

The Declaration appears also in *The New-York Gazette*, etc., (NY and Rid) of July 15th.

(Also, see note 68, *post*.)

⁶¹ General Howe heard on the 8th of the action of Congress, and that by a newspaper — doubtless *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* (C and N) — of the 6th.

⁶² Taken from *The Virginia Gazette* (C) of July 26th. See also *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* (A and N) of July 13th; *Dunlap's*, etc., (N) and *The New-York Gazette*, etc., (NY and Rid) of the 15th; *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (N) of the 17th; *The New-England Chronicle* (C and MsS) of the 18th; *The Essex Journal*, etc., (C) of the 19th; *The Boston-Gazette*, etc., (C) of the 22d; *The American Gazette*, etc., (Ex) of the 23d; and *The Maryland Gazette* (Ann) of the 25th.

⁶³ An "Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in New York, to his Friend in this Town, dated July 10, 1776", as given in *The Maryland Journal*, etc., (Ba) of July 17th, says: "Last Evening it [the Declaration] was read to the Army here, and three Cheers proclaimed the Joy of every Heart in the Camp, and this Morning the IMAGE of the BEAST was thrown down, and his HEAD severed from his Body . . ."

⁶⁴ John Adams, in his *Diary*, says: "[J] Between the fort and the city is a beautiful ellipsis of land railed in with solid iron, in the centre of which is a statue of his majesty on horse-back, very large, of solid lead gilded with gold, standing on a pedestal of marble, very high."

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Lossing writes: "[H] It was the workman-ship of Wilton, then a celebrated statuary of London, and was the first equestrian statue of his majesty yet erected. It was placed upon its pedestal, in the center of the Bowling Green, on the twenty-first of August, 1770." "[H] Mr. Greene described the statue to me as of the natural size, both horse and man. The horse was poised upon his hinder legs. The king had a crown upon his head; his right hand held the bridle-reins, the left rested upon the handle of a sword. The artist omitted stirrups."

⁵⁵ Washington, as shown by his *orders*, ordered on the 10th: "[S] 'Tho the General doubts not the persons, who pulled down and mutilated the Statue, in the Broadway, last night, were actuated by Zeal in the public cause; yet it has so much the appearance of riot and want of order, in the Army, that he disapproves the manner and directs that in future these things shall be avoided by the Soldiery, and left to be executed by proper authority."

⁵⁶ Ebenezer Hazard also, writing from New York to Gates on the 12th, says: "[NY] Enclosed is the Congress's Declaration of Independence [See notes 43 and 50, *supra*] . . . The King of England's . . . Statue here has been pulled down to make Musket Ball of, so that his troops will probably have melted Majesty fired at them." In the same vein writes Whipple, from Philadelphia, on the 16th: ". . . the leaden King in the Bowling-Green was dismounted, and is by this time cast into bullets for the destruction of his tools of tyranny. May every one of them be properly commissioned . . ."

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Wolcott (See p. 211) writes: "[MsS] . . . the Statue was broken in pieces and the metal transported to Litchfield as a place of safety. The Ladies of this Village converted the lead into *Cartridges* for the Army, of which the preceding is an Account." The "preceding" is as follows:

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	[MsS] Cartridges.
Mrs. Marvin,	6.058
Ruth Marvin,	11.592
Laura,	8.378
Mary Ann,	10.790
Frederic,	936
Mrs. Beach,	1.802
Made by sundry Persons,	2.182
Gave Litchfield Militia on Alarm,	50
Let the Regiment of Col. Wigglesworth have	300
Cartridges, No.	42.088

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Not all, however, of the statue was "converted . . . into Cartridges"; for the following (copied especially for the author, by courtesy, from the files in their office in New York City) appears in the *Telegram* of June 16, 1883: "Mr. Jacob B. Moore, the well known historical writer and librarian of the New York Historical Society, said to-day to a TELEGRAM reporter . . . ' . . . The stone slab upon which the statue rested was taken to Powles Hook in 1783. It subsequently served as a memorial stone for the grave of Major John Smith, of the Forty-second Highlanders, and later as a doorstep for the residence of Mr. Cornelius Van Vorst, in Jersey City. It is now in possession of the New York Historical Society. Several large fragments of the statue—comprising the tail of the horse, part of the saddle, &c., which were recovered at Wilton, Conn., in 1871—are also in the society's possession. The white marble pedestal (fifteen feet in height) was removed from the Green in May, 1818.'"

A similar statement was made to us by Robert H. Kelby, the present Librarian of the Society; and we ourselves have seen in the Society what is thus stated to be the "stone slab upon which the statue rested".

Indeed, the "Journals of Col. James Montresor" (See *Collec-*

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tions of the New York Historical Society for the year 1881, p. 123) says: "My hearing that the Rebels had cut the King's head off the Equestrian Statue (in the Centre of the Elipps, near the Fort) at New York, which represented George the 3rd in the figure of Marcus Aurelius, and that they had cut the nose off, clipt the laurels that were wreathed round his head, and drove a musket Bullet part of the way through his Head, and otherwise disfigured it, and that it was carried to Moore's tavern, adjoining Fort Washington, on New York Island, in order to be fixed on a Spike on the Truck of that Flagstaff as soon as it could be got ready, I immediately sent Corby through the Rebel Camp in the beginning of September, 1776, to Cox, who kept the Tavern at King's Bridge, to steal it from thence, to bury it, which was effected, and was dug up on our arrival, and I rewarded the men, and sent the Head by the Lady Gage to Lord Townshend, in order to convince them at home of the Infamous Disposition of the Ungrateful people of this distressed Country."

⁵⁷ Taken from *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (N) of July 17th. See also *The New-York Gazette*, etc., (NY and Rid) of July 15th; *The New-England Chronicle* (C and MsS) of the 18th; *The Connecticut Gazette*, etc., (N) of the 19th; *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, etc., (C) of the 20th; *The Boston-Gazette*, etc., (C) of the 22d; and *The American Gazette*, etc., (Ex) of the 23d.

⁵⁸ See note 56, *supra*.

⁵⁹ See *Memoirs of his Own Time*.

⁶⁰ Washington forwarded the Declaration (See note 50, *supra*; see, however, note 43, *supra*) to Schuyler on the 11th. He says (See *The Writings of George Washington*, etc., by Jared Sparks): "You will perceive by the enclosed *Declaration*, that Congress of late have been deliberating on matters of the utmost importance. Impelled by necessity, and the repetition of injuries no

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longer sufferable, and being without the most distant prospect of relief, they have asserted the claims of the colonies to the rights of humanity, absolved them from all allegiance to the British crown, and declared them *Free and Independent States*. In obedience to their order, the same must be proclaimed throughout the northern Army." Schuyler, then at "German-Flatts", transmitted it to Gates.

⁶¹ Taken from *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* (C) of August 15th. See also *The New-York Journal*, etc., (C) and *The New York Packet and the American Advertiser* (C) of the same date; and *Dunlap's*, etc., (N) of the 20th.

⁶² See p. 187.

⁶³ This resolution, as seen (See p. 186), was passed on Tuesday, the 9th. The New York City Committee took its action one week later. It resolved "That at twelve o'clock, on Thursday, at the City-Hall, in this city, the aforesaid Declaration be published; when and where it is hoped every true friend to the rights and liberties of this country will not fail to attend."

⁶⁴ Taken from *The New-York Journal*, etc., (C) of July 15th. See also *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* (A and C) of July 23d; *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (C and N) and *The Pennsylvania Journal*, etc., (C) of the 24th; *The Virginia Gazette* (C) of the 26th; *Dunlap's*, etc., (C and N) of the 29th; and *The Maryland Gazette* (Ann) of August 1st.

⁶⁵ Lossing says that this was at the head of Broad Street.

⁶⁶ The *Diary* of the Moravian Congregation (See *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, I, 139) says: "Thursday 18th, was the day appointed when Independence was to be declared in the City Hall here; which was done about noon; and the Coat of Arms of the King was burnt. An unpleasant and heavy feeling prevailed."

⁶⁷ Rev. Charles Inglis writes to Rev. Dr. Hind, October 31st (See *The Documentary History of the State of New-York* by

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Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan): "In the beginning of July, independency was declared . . . I thought it was proper to consult such of the vestry as were in town, and others of the congregation . . . and I must do them the justice to say, that they were all unanimous for shutting up the Churches; and chose rather to submit to that temporary inconvenience, than, by omitting the prayers for the king, give that mark of disaffection to their sovereign. To have prayed for him had been rash to the last degree — the inevitable consequence had been a demolition of the churches, and the destruction of all who frequented them. The whole rebel force was collected here, and the most violent partisans from all parts of the continent . . . All the king's arms, even those on signs of taverns, were destroyed. The committee sent me a message, which I esteemed a favour and indulgence, to have the king's arms taken down in the church, or else the mob would do it, and might deface and injure the churches. I immediately complied. People were not at liberty to speak their sentiments, and even silence was construed as a mark of disaffection. Things being thus situated, I shut up the churches. Even this was attended with great hazard; for it was declaring, in the strongest manner, our disapprobation of independency, and that under the eye of Washington and his army."

The arms in Trinity Church, Lossing says, "[H] were . . . carried to New Brunswick by Rev. Charles Inglis, D. D., at the close of the war, and now [1852] hang on the walls of a Protestant Episcopal Church in St. John."

⁶⁸ R. A. Roberts of the Public Record Office writes us, from London, under date of September 11, 1905: ". . . this enclosure appears to have been wrongly assigned to the Governor's despatch of 8 July 1776 with which it is bound up . . . The Heading and Imprint of the Declaration are as follows: — In Congress July 4 1776 | A Declaration | By the Representatives of the | United States of America | In General Congress

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assembled . . . New York: Printed by Hugh Gaine in Hanover Square. The name Elias Darling is endorsed in a contemporary hand. The dimensions of the broadside are $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches \times 11, but the left side has been slightly cut down for binding."

⁶⁹ Taken from *The New-York Journal*, etc., (C) of August 8th.

⁷⁰ Also, see note 56, *supra*.

⁷¹ This and the following quotation are taken from *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (C) of July 24th. See also *The Connecticut Courant*, etc., (C) of the 15th; *The Boston-Gazette*, etc., (C) of the 22d; *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* (C) of the 23d; *The New-England Chronicle* (MsS) of the 25th; *The Connecticut Gazette*, etc., (N) and *The Essex Journal*, etc., (C) of the 26th; *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, etc., (C) of the 27th; *The Maryland Gazette* (Ann) of August 1st; and *The Freeman's Journal*, etc., (Con) of August 3d.

⁷² Joseph Trumbull.

⁷³ Williams.

⁷⁴ The Declaration appears in *The Connecticut Gazette*, etc., (Ha, N and NY) — published at New London — of this date and in *The Connecticut Courant*, etc., (C and Ha) — published at Hartford — of the 15th.

⁷⁵ Whether the Governor *personally*, after discussion, was of this mind is not known; but, certainly at first, he thought otherwise, for, in his reply (dated the 13th) to the letter of Hancock of the 6th, he says: "I shall have . . . [the Declaration] proclaimed in the Colony in such a manner that the people may be universally informed of it."

⁷⁶ Taken from *The Connecticut Courant*, etc., (C) of July 29th. See also *The New-England Chronicle* (MsS) of August 2d.

⁷⁷ Taken from *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* (C) of August 1st. See also *The Boston-Gazette*, etc., (C) of July 29th and *The New-York Journal*, etc., (C and Rid) of August 8th.

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⁷⁸ Clarence S. Brigham, Librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, in Providence, writes us, under date of September 19, 1905, that there are two broadsides of the Declaration there. The first, he says, has the following heading: "In Congress, July 4, 1776. | A Declaration | By the Representatives of the | United States of America, | In General Congress assembled." and the following imprint: "Newport, June 13, 1776: Printed by S. Southwick." The second, he says, has the same heading but has: "Newport, Printed by S. Southwick." He adds: "(This is printed from the same type as the preceding . . . and differs from it in being the official Rhode Island copy and having the Secretary's official attestation. The imprint is also different.)"

^{79 and 80} Taken from *The New-York Journal*, etc., (C and Rid) of August 8th.

⁸¹ The *Diary* of Ezekial Price (See *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, VII, 260), who was residing temporarily at Stoughton, under date of the 13th, says: "Went to Boston. Our children are very comfortable. The mail from New York brings the declaration of the Continental Congress for INDEPENDENCE." To the same effect is Cooper's letter of the 15th, p. 223. Also, see letter of Mrs. Abigail Adams, *Appendix*, p. 349. The minutes of the Selectmen of Boston (See *Reports of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston*, vol. 25, p. 2) do not show when received, except that it was between June 17th and July 17th.

⁸² Taken from the copy (formerly in the Department of State and now in the Library of Congress) made by Richard Varick.

⁸³ Taken from *The Bulletin* of The Worcester Society of Antiquity for July, 1899. See this and also *The Celebration by the Inhabitants of Worcester, Mass., of the Centennial Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence* (1876).

Niles' Weekly Register (C and N) of August 5, 1826, says: "The first time the Declaration of Independence was publicly

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read in Massachusetts was in this town. The express, on his way to Boston, furnished Isaiah Thomas, esq. with a copy for publication in this paper, of which he was at that time the publisher. The news of its receipt soon spread throughout the town, and a large concourse of people collected, all anxious to see or hear so extraordinary a document. To gratify their curiosity, Mr. Thomas ascended the portico of the south meeting house, (then the only one in town), and read it to those who were assembled. Half a century has since passed away . . . Mr. Thomas still lives . . . and yesterday joined in the celebration of independence in the same house from which he read the declaration fifty years ago. [*Worcester (Mass.) Spy.*"]

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See note 81, *supra*.

⁸⁴ A star now marks the spot. See *The Bulletin* (See note 83, *supra*).

⁸⁵ The Declaration appears in *The American Gazette*, etc., (Ex) of this date; in *The Massachusetts Spy*, etc., (Bos) of the 17th; in *The New-England Chronicle* (Bos, C, MsS and PH) — headed: "Grand Council of America" — of the 18th; in *The Essex Journal*, etc., (C) of the 19th; and in *The Boston-Gazette*, etc., (C and Ms) of the 22d.

⁸⁶ Taken from a copy of the Declaration printed (by E. Russell) in accordance therewith. See note 87, *post*.

⁸⁷ There is a copy of this broadside in the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet now in the New York Public Library (Lenox), a second in the Massachusetts Historical Society, in Boston, and a third in The Essex Institute, in Salem.

The Lenox-copy begins as follows: "=====
| A DECLARATION | by the | REPRESENTATIVES | of
the | UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, | In GENERAL
CONGRESS assembled." Below the body of the instrument,
on the right side, is: "Signed by Order and in Behalf of the
Congress, | JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT. | Attest

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CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary." Then comes the order given in the text (See note 86, *supra*), preceded by: "In COUNCIL, July 17th, 1776." and followed, on the left, by: "In the Name, and by Order of the Council, | =====est, John Avery, Dep. Sec'y." and, on the right, by: "R. ===== President." At the bottom of the page is: "===== Massachusetts-Bay: Printed by E. Russell, by Orde===== " It is torn, as indicated, at the bottom, both on the right and left of the centre, and at the top — as if it had been nailed or pasted to something and torn loose.

The Society-copy is minus a part of the right lower quarter, beginning with the last paragraph of the body of the instrument. Aside from a part of the order given in the text, only (excepting, of course, the heading and most of the body of the instrument) the following appear: "JOH"; "Attes"; "In the Name, and by Order of"; "A true Copy Attest, John Avery, D"; and "SALEM, Massachusetts-Bay: Printed". The heading is complete — having: "IN | CONGRESS, | July 4, 1776." at the top. On the back is endorsed: "[Ms] On August 15th 1776, after the Conclusion of Divine Service, I read this Declaration, conformable to the Order of the Council of State; and spake in Favour of a Compliance with the Continental Declaration — In witnesseth my Hand Samuel Mather."

The copy in The Essex Institute is complete. It bears: "In the Name, and by Order of the Council, | A true Copy Attest, John Avery, Dep. Sec'y."; "R. DERBY, Jun. President."; and "SALEM, Massachusetts-Bay: Printed by E. Russell, by Order of Authority." It is endorsed: "[Ex] Reding rev^d M^r [Eliab] Stone".

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John Avery writes to Sheriff Greenleaf, August 5th: "I am directed by the honourable Committee of Council to acquaint you that the printed Declarations of Independency are on their

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table, and they expect that you will take proper care that they be distributed through this State as soon as may be, that every town may have them publickly read in each religious assembly."



It seems *probable*, therefore, that there were at least *four* broadsides printed in Massachusetts before this *official* copy was distributed; for there is a broadside in the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester (See note 99, *post*), without a printer's imprint, two copies of another in The Essex Institute, also without a printer's imprint, another in the Massachusetts Historical Society (and in The Essex Institute), also without a printer's imprint, and yet another in the Massachusetts Historical Society (and in the Bostonian Society in the Old State House in Boston), which bears the following: "AMERICA: Boston, Printed by JOHN GILL, and POWARS and WILLIS, in Queen-Street."

The second begins: "IN | CONGRESS, | July 4, 1776. | A | DECLARATION | BY THE | REPRESENTATIVES | OF THE | UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, | In GENERAL CONGRESS assembled." The body of the instrument is in four columns, with the usual printed signatures, etc., of Hancock and Thomson (except that the latter's name is spelled with a "p") at the bottom.

The third (For *facsimile*, see *A popular History of the United States*, etc., by William Cullen Bryant and Sydney Howard Gay, vol. 3, facing p. 482) begins: "In CONGRESS, July 4, 1776. | A DECLARATION | By the REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, | In GENERAL CONGRESS assembled." The body of the instrument is in two columns, with the usual printed signatures, etc., of Hancock and Thomson (except that the latter's name is spelled with a "p") at the bottom of the second column. (The copy in The Essex Institute is endorsed, in the handwriting of Timothy Pickering:

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"[Ex] United American Colonies Declared Independent. July 4. 1776.")

The fourth (For *facsimile*, see *Narrative and Critical History of America* by Winsor, vol. 6, p. 267) is the same as the third except that its heading has more leads and that, as stated, it bears the names of its printers.

It would seem, therefore, that the third and the fourth were printed by the same printers, or perhaps by Gill only or by Powars and Willis only. The third — with fewer leads — was doubtless printed first.

⁸⁸ The Declaration was published in (at least most of) the churches of Boston, August 11th. Mrs. (Abigail) Adams, in a letter to her husband, John Adams, of the 14th, says: "[Ad] Last Sunday, after service, the Declaration of Independence was read from the pulpit by order of Council. The Dr. concluded with asking a blessing 'upon the United States of America even until the final restitution of all things.' Dr. Chauncey's address pleased me. The good man after having read it, lifted his eyes and hands to Heaven. 'God bless the United States of America, and let all the people say Amen.' One of his audience told me it universally struck them." Rev. Samuel Mather of North Church seems (See note 87, *supra*), however, to have read the Declaration on the 15th. Also, see the fourth paragraph of note 87, *supra*.

Rev. Jacob Bailey of Pownalborough refused to read the Declaration.

⁸⁹ Taken from *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, etc., (C) of August 24th.

⁹⁰ See note 81, *supra*.

⁹¹ Taken from *Dunlap's*, etc., (N) of August 5th. See also *The Boston-Gazette*, etc., (C) of July 22d; *The American Gazette*, etc., (Ex) of the 23d; *The New-England Chronicle* (C) of the 25th; *The Essex Journal*, etc., (C) of the 26th; *The Freeman's*

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Journal, etc., (Con) of the 27th; *The Connecticut Gazette*, etc., (N) of August 2d; *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* (A and C) of August 3d; *The New-York Journal*, etc., (C and Rid) of August 8th; and *The Maryland Gazette* (Ann) of August 15th.

⁹² and ⁹³ In the copy of *The New-England Chronicle* (that of July 25th) in the State Library in Boston which contains this account, this word is erased and "State" substituted; and, from the ink, this would appear to have been done by someone at the time.

⁹⁴ Taken from *The Memorial History of Boston*, etc., edited by Justin Winsor (1881).

⁹⁵ Taken from *The New-York Journal*, etc., (C and Rid) of August 8th. See also *The Boston-Gazette*, etc., (C) of July 22d; and *The New-England Chronicle* (MsS) of the 25th.

⁹⁶ Taken from *The New-England Chronicle* (Bos and MsS) of August 2d. See also *The Massachusetts Spy*, etc., (T) of July 24th.

⁹⁷ Dalton was doubtless present: see p. 224.

⁹⁸ Taken from *The Essex Journal*, etc., (C) of August 9th.

⁹⁹ In the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester is a broadside of the Declaration (the printer of which is unknown) which, according to an accompanying letter from Simon Greenleaf, dated Portland, December 28, 1822, is "[T]one of the original hand-bills . . . It was posted up in Newburyport — and afterwards preserved by my grandfather the late Hon. Jonathan Greenleaf, who gave it to me — The error in the spelling of Mr—Hancock's name [Hacock] shews the great haste to announce that great event —" It is headed: "=====
July 4 1776 | DE=====TION, | By the REPRESENTA-
TIVES of the | UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, | in GEN-
ERAL CONGRESS *Assembled.*" The body of the instrument is in two columns, with the printed signatures, etc., at the end of the second column. These are as follows: "*Signed by*

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Order and in Behalf of the Congress, | JOHN HACOCK
President." and "Attest | CHARLES THOMPSON Secretary."

¹⁰⁰ See note 115, chapter IX.

¹⁰¹ Taken from *Dunlap's*, etc., (N) of August 5th. See also *The Freeman's Journal*, etc., (Con) of July 20th.

¹⁰² See p. 221.

¹⁰³ The Declaration appears in *The Freeman's Journal*, etc., (Con) published in Portsmouth of the 20th.

¹⁰⁴ Taken from *The Boston-Gazette*, etc., (C) of August 12th.

¹⁰⁵ The Declaration had already appeared in the newspapers of Baltimore—in *Dunlap's Maryland Gazette*, etc., (Ba) of the 9th and in *The Maryland Journal*, etc., (Ba) of the 10th. The latter paper—which, as we have seen (See p. 69) (See also note 108, *post*), evidently favored independence—headed the Declaration as follows: "The Thirteen UNITED STATES Of America, Have declared Independency[.]" It would seem that it had appeared also in *The Maryland Gazette*, published in Annapolis, of the 11th; for Scharf so states and this number is missing from the files in the State Library in that city.

¹⁰⁶ See p. 240.

This letter (or the one of similar date to Virginia) is now in the possession of George C. Thomas of Philadelphia.

¹⁰⁷ At a meeting of the Committee of Baltimore, July 30th, "The Chairman [William Lux] being informed by Mr. Robert Christie, Sheriff of this County, that he had reason to be apprehensive of violence being offered to him, the said Sheriff, on account of his not attending to read the Declaration of Independence on Monday last, agreeable to the desire of the Committee; and that from these apprehensions, he would be under the disagreeable necessity of retiring to the country, and withdrawing himself from the publick service; whereupon, Resolved, That the Committee do declare their utter disapprobation of all threats and violence . . ."

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The Maryland Journal, etc., (Ba) of July 31st displays this extract from the minutes of the Committee directly above its account (See note 108, *post*) of the proceedings.

¹⁰⁸ *Dunlap's*, etc., (N), of August 5th, says that the Declaration was proclaimed "at the Court House to a numerous and respectable body of Militia and the company of Artillery, and other principal inhabitants of this town [Baltimore] and county, which was received with general applause and heart felt satisfaction: And at night the town was illuminated, and, at the same time, the Effigy of our late King was carted through the town and committed to the flames amidst the acclamations of many hundreds. — The just reward of a Tyrant."

See also *Dunlap's Maryland Gazette*, etc., (Ba) of July 30th.

The New-York Journal, etc., (C) of August 8th, copying from *The Maryland Journal*, etc., (Ba) of July 31st, says: ". . . at 12 o'clock, the Declaration of Independency was proclaimed at the Court-House in this town [Baltimore], at the head of the Independent and Artillery Companies, and the several Companies of Militia, to the great joy and satisfaction of the audience, with a discharge of cannon, &c. and universal acclamations for the prosperity of the Free United States — In the evening the effigy, representing the King of Great Britain, was carried through the town, to the no small mirth of the numerous spectators, afterwards thrown into the fire made for that purpose. Thus may it fare with all Tyrants." See note 107, *supra*.

¹⁰⁹ This body had adjourned, July 6th.

¹¹⁰ Speaking of the elections for this Convention, the Council of Safety — in a letter to the Delegates, dated Annapolis, August 9th — say: "[Md] We shall say nothing particular about the elections more than what relates to yourselves, S. Chase is in for Ann^l, Wm. P[aca]. & Carrollton Carroll for Annapolis. T. J[ohnson]. & T. Stone are left out, and there is a very great change in the members in all Counties, according to the intel-

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ligence we have." In a similar vein, though mistaken as to the leaving-out of Goldsborough and Tilghman, writes R. H. Lee (then at Belle View, on his way to Philadelphia), in a letter to Henry, dated August 20th: "[Q] I learn from Maryland that the counties have excluded from their new Convention, all those that have been famous for Moderation, as it is strangely called, and under this idea, that Johnson, Gouldsborough, Stone, and Tilghman are left out, with the new delegates to Congress, Alexander and Rodgers." (We think the omission of Alexander must have been on other grounds: see note 51, chapter IX. As to Stone, see p. 69.)

¹¹¹ Pendleton writes to Jefferson from "Caroline", July 29th: "[S] The Gov' [Henry] has been Ill ever since his appointment, is on the recovery, & was I hear on Saturday last to go to Hanover to perfect his health."

¹¹² For Page's letter of the same date to Jefferson, see p. 224.

¹¹³ Taken from *The Virginia Gazette* (C) of July 26th. (See note 114, *post.*)

¹¹⁴ An abstract of the Declaration appears in *The Virginia Gazette* (C) of July 19th. It appears in full — headed by the above order — in the same paper (C) of the 26th.

¹¹⁵ This and the following quotation are taken from *The Virginia Gazette* (C) of July 26th. See also *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* (C) of August 6th; *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (N) of August 7th; and *The New-York Journal*, etc., (C) of August 15th.

¹¹⁶ This and the following quotation are taken from *The Virginia Gazette* (C) of August 10th.

¹¹⁷ See note 51, chapter IX.

¹¹⁸ Sherill (See note 9, chapter II) writes us, under date of January 10, 1902, that there are no broadsides of the Declaration to be found in North Carolina.

¹¹⁹ Taken from *A Defence*, etc., by Jones. He says: "I re-

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ceived the account of this ceremony from a pious and elderly lady, who was present on the occasion, and whose friendship and acquaintance I esteem the more, because it descended to me as an inheritance."

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Sherill says (also) that there seem to be no newspapers on file in the Library Department containing any copy of the Declaration or any accounts of proceedings in celebration of it.

¹²⁰ This quotation is taken from *Traditions*, etc., by Johnson. See, however, note 122, *post*.

¹²¹ Nela M. Davis of Charleston writes us, under date of January 12, 1902: ". . . there are no broadsides of the Declaration in the Charleston Library. I looked carefully & was also informed by the Librarian that there were none. I also enquired of the Sec. of the 'South Carolina Historical Society' if anything, pertaining to the subject matter of your inquiry, could be found in his Library, or among his papers, but he had nothing."

¹²² The following: "We have just received Accounts, That the General Congress on July 4th. declared these United Colonies to be FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES—" appears in *The South Carolina and American General Gazette* (Ch), published in Charleston, of August 2d. As the next previous issue seems to have been May 31st, however, this statement may not be in conflict with Johnson's. Moreover, the statement as found in Drayton (See note 127, *post*) would seem merely to have been drawn from this newspaper. Both Johnson and Drayton may, however, be correct, if an express separate from the one sent by the Delegates was sent by Congress.

¹²³ As if almost fearful of making the announcement and certainly, we think, doubtful of its reception, the Delegates preceded this paragraph by a long paragraph treating of certain resolutions of Congress respecting the forces of the Colony.

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¹²⁴ Curiously enough, this was the very day the Declaration was submitted to Congress by the committee.

¹²⁵ Henry Laurens (See note 94, chapter III), when in prison in the Tower in London, described (See *Collections of the South-Carolina Historical Society*) his feelings on the occasion thus : “When intelligence of that event reached Charles Town, where I was, and that I was called upon to join in a procession for promulgating the declaration. I happened to be in mourning, and in that garb * I attended the solemn, and as I felt it, awful renunciation of an union, which I had at the hazard of my life and reputation most ardently strove to conserve and support. In truth, I wept that day as I had done for the melancholy catastrophe, which caused me to put on black clothes — the death of a son, and felt much more pain. I thought, and openly declared, that in my private opinion Congress had been too hasty in shutting the door against reconciliation, but I did not know at that moment that Great Britain had first drawn the line of separation by the act of parliament, which threw the resisting colonies out of her protection, and forced them into a state of independence † . . . I wept and felt deeply for the calamities, which in a moment, I foresaw and predicted would befall both countries, and which have since come to pass ; these are not pretences of the present date made in the Tower. All my letters to Mr. Oswald, to Mr. Manning, to my brother, to my sons, and to my eldest daughter, in 1775 and 1776 will corroborate my present assertions. When I was informed of the line of separation above alluded to, I perceived the ground on which Congress had founded their declaration, and submitted to the unavoidable act . . . I must nevertheless confess, if I had been president or member [of Congress], and had known of the above mentioned act of parliament, I should have given my vote for the *declaration* of independency, for *independent* the colonies were, to all intents and purposes, the moment Great Britain

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declared them to be out of her protection . . . But understand me. I say, I should have given my vote for the declaration of independence from the necessity of the case, not from an opinion, that the people of America would be happier than they had been under the ancient connexion with Great Britain; a continuance of that connexion [was] the wish of my heart, as it would have been a continuance of the glory and happiness of both countries."

"* My attendance upon that occasion in deep mourning, was much remarked, and gave great offence to some of the people."

"† I have been assured there was great resistance in Congress against independence, and that the declaration would not have found a sufficient number of advocates, if that act of Parliament had not given a turn to the mind of every man in opposition."

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A letter from him dated Charleston, March 24, 1776, to Lachlan McIntosh, says: "[Cs] the Intelligence we received yesterday from Philadelphia added to the late Act of Parliament which came through your Town, puts all possibility of reconciliation with Great Britain upon terms formerly proposed, aside — yet I feel myself lighter I think better terms are not far distant — but I feel nevertheless & I grieve for England her glory and her honour are eclipsed her power will sink — I grieve for her as for the loss of an old & much loved friend — in a word I see the time advancing very fast when the declaration which I have oft made to Men of consequence in that Island & perhaps oft in your hearing, will be accomplished — her Conquest be her defeat — possibly worse if her ancient Rival should interpose in earnest, she may suffer nothing but defeat —" (For another portion of this letter, see note 96, chapter III.)

A letter from the same place to John Laurens dated March 28th (1776) says: "[Hs] The Constitution [See p. 88] was

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proclaimed in due form & under a grand & most decent solemnity, attended by the acclamations of the People without noise or confusion—necessity impelled this measure & every faithful heart wishes that its duration may be shortened by a happy accomodation of the present destructive contest between the Mother Country and these United Colonies.”

¹²⁶ See *Memoirs*, etc., by Drayton, vol. 2, p. 315, note †. He says that this tree was situated “just beyond Gadsden’s and Lynch’s pasture, over the creek at Hempstead.”

¹²⁷ *The South Carolina and American General Gazette* (Ch) of August 14th contains the following: “On Monday last Week [August 5th] the DECLARATION of INDEPENDENCE was proclaimed here, amidst the Acclamations of a vast Concourse of People.” See also *Dunlap’s*, etc., (N) of September 17th; *The Pennsylvania Journal*, etc., (C) of the 18th; *The Maryland Gazette* (Ann) of the 26th; and *The Essex Journal*, etc., (C) of October 4th.

Drayton, in *Memoirs*, etc., says: “. . . an express arrived from the Continental Congress on the 2d of August, with accounts; that on the 4th day of July, that body, had declared the United Colonies, Free and Independent States . . . The account was received, with the greatest joy; and on the 5th of August, Independency was declared by the civil authority: the President, accompanied by all the officers, civil and military, making a grand procession on the occasion. And, in the afternoon of the same day, in pursuance of general orders for that purpose, the whole of the troops then in Charlestown, as well continental as provincial, were paraded near Liberty-Tree; where, the Declaration of Independence was read to them, by Major Barnard Elliott; after which, an address was delivered on the occasion, by the Reverend Mr. Piercy.”

¹²⁸ It appears that Rutledge — two years later — vetoed a bill declaring that it was necessary to frame a new constitution

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based upon the independence of South Carolina, stating that he deemed reconciliation with Great Britain *just as desirable as in 1776*.

¹²⁹ Considerable light is thrown upon the situation in South Carolina by *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution* by Edward McCrady.

¹³⁰ Taken from *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (N) of October 9th. See also *The Essex Journal*, etc., (C) of November 8th.

¹³¹ Taken from *The History of Georgia* by Charles C. Jones, Jr.

CHAPTER XII

¹ Taken from *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (N) of July 9, 1777.

CHAPTER XIII

¹ The Declaration (See facing p. 284) thus printed bears the same heading (though the lining is different) as the Declaration on parchment: "In CONGRESS, July 4, 1776. | THE UNANIMOUS | DECLARATION | of the | Thirteen United States of AMERICA." The body of it is in two broad columns, beneath which, in the center of the page, is: "John Hancock." Then come, in four columns, the names of the other signers (except M:Kean) — grouped by brackets and headed respectively by the name of the Colony which they represented. Georgia, North and South Carolina and Maryland are in the first; Virginia and Pennsylvania in the second; Delaware, New York, New Jersey and New Hampshire in the third; and Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut in the last. These are followed by the order given in the text, headed: "In CONGRESS, January 18, 1777." and ending:

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"By Order of CONGRESS, | John Hancock, *President*." At the bottom is: "Baltimore, in Maryland: Printed by Mary Katharine Goddard."

There are two copies in the New York Public Library (Lenox), in the collections of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet and Theodore Bailey Myers, the latter of which may be found *facsimiled* in *Orderly Book of Sir John Johnson*, p. 220. Both have written endorsements—in the handwriting respectively of Hancock and Thomson—as follows: "[N and NM] Attest Cha^s Thomson sec^y | A True Copy | John Hancock Presid^t". Perhaps one is the copy formerly (See note 21, chapter VIII) in the files of the State of New York. There is a third copy in the Boston Public Library, a fourth in the files of the State of Massachusetts and a fifth in the Library of Congress. These also contain written endorsements like the Lenox copies.

George S. Godard, Librarian of the State Library of Connecticut, writes us, under date of September 18, 1905, that there is a copy there, with similar written endorsements; Charles P. Bennett, Secretary of State of Rhode Island, writes us, under the same date, that the files there contain a like copy; and Oswald Tilghman, Secretary of State of Maryland, writes us, under date of October 2, 1905, that there is a copy in the State House in Annapolis, which, he says, is signed by Hancock "as certifying to the same."

This authenticated copy was copied in the *Journal* of the House of Representatives of New Hampshire *in red ink*.

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(Why M:Kean's name does not appear on the authenticated copy—Also, see note 15, chapter IX—has never been accounted for, though various theories have at different times been advanced. See—also—notes 18 and 21, chapter IX, and the letters of M:Kean, p. 193 and Appendix, pp. 299, 301 and 303.)

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² Of course, the Declaration on parchment *may* have been left in Philadelphia; though this, or that an "authenticated" copy would have been ordered by Congress under such circumstances, seems hardly possible.

³ In 1791, this was at No. 307 High Street.

⁴ See p. 194.

⁵ See note 1, chapter IX.

⁶ See note 2, chapter IX.

⁷ It is said that a *small* "packet sloop" brought all of the possessions of the infant Republic.

⁸ See *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*.

Also, see "When Dolly Madison saved the Declaration of Independence" by Clifford Howard in the *Ladies' Home Journal* for July, 1897.

Paul Jennings, the colored body-servant of Madison at the time, in *A Colored Man's Reminiscences of James Madison* (1865), says: "It has often been stated in print, that when Mrs. Madison escaped from the White House, she cut out from the frame the large portrait of Washington (now in one of the parlors there), and carried it off. This is totally false. She had no time for doing it. It would have required a ladder to get it down. All she carried off was the silver in her reticule, as the British were thought to be but a few squares off, and were expected every moment."

⁹ Taken from *A Sketch of The Events which preceded the Capture of Washington by the British* by Edward D. Ingraham, published at Philadelphia in 1849.

¹⁰ Whether or not this note is in existence, we do not know; but see note 11, *post*.

¹¹ In a report, dated October 17, 1814, he says: "[D] In the afternoon of the 23d [of August] I returned to Washington, and during the night of that day the President transmitted to me the letter, of which that which follows is a copy: '. . . [Signed] James Monroe. Tuesday [the 23d], 9 o'clock. You had

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better move the records.' ” It would thus (and from Pleasonton's account) seem that Monroe wrote not only to the President but also to one of the officers of the Department of State and that Armstrong was not notified by the President until after Pleasonton, in accordance with a direct order of the Secretary of State, had packed up the papers belonging to that Department.

¹² Monroe, in his report (November 14, 1814) to the House of Representatives, called for by a resolution of October 24th, says: “[D] . . . when it became apparent from the movements of the enemy, after his debarkation at Benedict, that his destination was the seat of Government, every exertion was made, and every means employed, for the removal of the books and papers of this office, to a place of safety; and, notwithstanding the extreme difficulty in obtaining the means of conveyance, it is believed that every paper and manuscript book of the office, of any importance, including those of the old Government . . . were placed in a state of security.”

¹³ In *Niles' Weekly Register* (N) of July 6, 1816, John Binns (See *Appendix*, note 39) of No. 70 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, announces the forthbringing by him of an engraving of the Declaration (accompanied by a pamphlet). Under date of June 8th, he says: “The *original* declaration of independence, as deposited in the secretary of state's office, was happily preserved when so many valuable papers were consumed by the enemy.”

¹⁴ This plate is now in the steel safe (See p. 292) in the Library of the Department of State.

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See facing p. 208.

These *facsimiles* bear “W. J. STONE SC. WASHN”

¹⁵ Jefferson, John Adams and Charles Carroll of Carrollton only were alive at this time.

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The letter of transmittal to Jefferson — headed: “[S] Department of State Washington 24 June 1824.” and signed by John Quincy Adams — reads as follows: “In pursuance of a joint Resolution, of the two Houses of Congress, a copy of which is hereto annexed, and by direction of the President of the United States, I have the honour of transmitting to you two *fac simile* copies of the Declaration of Independence, engrossed on parchment . . . Of this Document, unparalleled in the annals of Mankind, the original deposited in this Department exhibits your name as one of the Subscribers — The rolls herewith transmitted are copies as exact as the art of engraving can present of the Instrument itself, as well as of the signatures to it. While performing the duty thus assigned to me, permit me to felicitate you and the Country which is reaping the reward of your labours, as well that your hand was affixed to this record of glory, as that after the lapse of near half a century, you survive to receive this tribute of reverence and gratitude from your children, the present fathers of the Land.”

Jefferson (as shown by what is evidently the original draft formerly in the Department of State and now in the Library of Congress) answers him from Monticello, July 18th: “I have received the two copies of the *fac simile* of the Declⁿ of Indep^{dce} which you have been so kind as to send me under a resolⁿ of Congress, with due sense of respect for this mark of attention to myself I contemplate with pleasure the evidence afforded of reverence for that instrument, and view in it a pledge of adhesion to it's principles, and of a sacred determination to maintain and perpetuate them.”

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Jefferson and Adams both died on July 4, 1826.

Jefferson wrote (See *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* by H. A. Washington) on June 24th to Mayor Roger C. Weightman: “The kind invitation I receive from you, on the part of the

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citizens of the city of Washington, to be present with them at their celebration on the fiftieth anniversary of American independence, as one of the surviving signers of an instrument pregnant with our own, and the fate of the world, is most flattering to myself, and heightened by the honorable accompaniment proposed for the comfort of such a journey. It adds sensibly to the sufferings of sickness, to be deprived by it of a personal participation in the rejoicings of that day. But acquiescence is a duty, under circumstances not placed among those we are permitted to control. I should, indeed, with peculiar delight, have met and exchanged there congratulations personally with the small band, the remnant of that host of worthies who joined with us on that day, in the bold and doubtful election we were to make for our country, between submission or the sword; and to have enjoyed with them the consolatory fact, that our fellow citizens, after half a century of experience and prosperity, continue to approve the choice we made. May it be to the world, what I believe it will be, (to some parts sooner, to others later, but finally to all) the signal of arousing men to burst the chains under which monkish ignorance and superstition had persuaded them to bind themselves, and to assume the blessings and security of self-government. That form which we have substituted, restores the free right to the unbounded exercise of reason and freedom of opinion. All eyes are open, or opening, to the rights of man. The general spread of the light of science has already laid open to every view the palpable truth, that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately, by the grace of God. These are grounds of hope for others. For ourselves, let the annual return of this day forever refresh our recollections of these rights, and an undiminished devotion to them."

Adams replied to a similar invitation from New York City :
" [J] Not these United States alone, but a mighty continent, the

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last discovered, but the largest quarter of the globe, is destined to date the period of its birth and emancipation from the 4th of July, 1776."

Following their deaths, Charles Carroll of Carrollton writes (July 19, 1826) from Doughoregan, to Charles H. Wharton: "Though I disapproved of M^r Jefferson's administration, & was dissatisfied with a part of M^r Adam's both unquestionably greatly contributed to the Independence of this country: their services should be remembered, and their errors forgotten and forgiven. This evening, I am going to Baltimore to attend tomorrow the procession & ceremonies to be paid to the memories of those praised & dispraised Presidents . . . I was not in Congress when the vote of Indepence was taken as soon as I took my seat I signed that important declaration which has thus far produced, & I hope will perpetuate the happiness of these States —" (Taken from the *facsimile* in the collection of Theodore Bailey Myers now in the New York Public Library, Lenox, which states that the original is in the possession of R. C. Davis of Philadelphia.)

(*Niles' Weekly Register*, C and N, of August 5, 1826, contains the oration of General Samuel Smith in the Park at Baltimore on July 20th, and states that he said: "It [the Declaration] passed congress on the 4th July, 1776, and was signed immediately by all present, and being spread upon the table was signed by such as had been absent, as they took their seats in the house . . . And on the 4th of July, 1776, he [Carroll] was elected to congress. He took his seat on the 18th — and immediately signed the Declaration of Independence.")

Carroll lived until 1832. On May 23, 1828, Congress granted to him—" [D¹] the only surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence"—the privilege of the frank. A like privilege had been given to Adams, February 25, 1801, and to Jefferson, June 28, 1809.

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¹⁶ See *Appendix*, p. 346.

¹⁷ Taken from the copy in the Department of State.

¹⁸ The Declaration was evidently one of these.

¹⁹ Taken from the original in the Department of the Interior.

²⁰ For photograph, see *The Declaration of Independence* by Michael, between pp. 16 and 17, and *The Ladies' Home Journal* for July, 1898.

²¹ For photograph, see *The Declaration of Independence* by Michael, facing p. 16, and *The Ladies' Home Journal* for July, 1898.

²² On the door of the cabinet (referred to in the text) from which the Declaration was removed appears the following: "[S] The rapid fading of the text of the original Declaration of Independence and the deterioration of the parchment upon which it is engrossed, from exposure to the light and from lapse of time, render it impracticable for the Department longer to exhibit it or to handle it. For the secure preservation of its present condition, so far as may be possible, it has been carefully wrapped and placed flat in a steel case . . . In lieu of the original a fac simile is placed here. By order of the Secretary of State."

²³ See facing p. 218.

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¹ See note 12, chapter IV; note 5, chapter VII; and p. 197.

² See note 15, *post*.

³ This erasure was made evidently at the time of writing. The copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783 says: “. . . the proposition . . .”

⁴ These corrections were made evidently at the time of writing. The copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783 reads as follows: “they proceeded to take it into . . . which they immediately . . .”

⁵ The line (in the original MS., three lines) through the “&”, the “^” and “& South Carolina”, as well as the line (in the original MS., four lines) through “off”, are, we think, in different ink than the body of the *notes* — the ink of the line through “off” looking darker but not (and, strangely enough, also that of the line through “&”, we think) quite as black, we think, as that of “& South Carolina” and of the “^”. The copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783 reads as follows: “. . . Delaware & Maryland were not yet matured for falling from the parent stem . . .” Jefferson’s letter of August 29, 1787, to the editor of the *Journal of Paris* says: “[P] it appeared in the course of the debates that 7. [This is written over what seems to be an 8 but which is perhaps a 6] states, viz N. Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhodeisland, Connecticut, Virginia, North Carolina & Georgia were decided for a separation, but that 6. others still hesitated, to wit, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland & South Carolina. Congress, desirous of unanimity, & seeing that the public mind was advancing rapidly to it, referred the further discussion to the 1st of July . . .” This portion of the copy of the *notes* as embodied in his letter of May 12, 1819, to Wells may be found at p. 197. The words “had not yet advanced to” were erased evidently at the time of writing.

⁶ These corrections were made evidently at the time of writing. The copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783 says: “. . . to do it. it . . .”

⁷ This and all the following marginal notes (except those in the Declaration proper) are in black ink, the same, we think, as the ink of “& South Carolina” (See note 5, *supra*); and there are no such marginal notes in the copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783.

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⁸ This erasure was made evidently at the time of writing. The copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783 says: “. . . which was . . .”

⁹ The “^” and “Edward” are, we think, in different (yet brown) ink than the body of the *notes*, seeming to be of the same color as (though perhaps slightly darker than) that of the copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783. This copy reads as follows: “*mr* Rutlege . . .” Also, see p. 198.

¹⁰ This correction was made evidently at the time of writing. The copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783 reads as follows: “. . . then requested the . . .”

¹¹ This erasure was made evidently at the time of writing. The words do not appear in the copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783.

¹² This interlineation was made evidently at the time of writing. The copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783 reads as follows: “. . . when it was again moved & S. Carolina . . .”

¹³ This “*” is in black ink, and is not in the copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783. Indeed, see p. 198.

¹⁴ The copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783 reads as follows: “. . . it, & thus supplied . . .” The corrections in the *notes* look, however, darker than the body of the *notes* and even than this copy. The line (in the original MS., a scroll) through “by their vote to” is quite black, and so are also the last three letters (which are written over a *y*) of “supplied”; “and thus” and the “^” do not seem so black.

¹⁵ *Through the word “to”* (which is near the middle of the sixth line on page 7), the *notes* (except where we have otherwise indicated by notes) are in a reddish-brown ink. *Thence through the Declaration* (except where we will similarly indicate), the ink looks darker — darker than the ink of the copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783 (but not black like that of “& South Carolina”, see note 5, *supra*). Part way through the Declaration, as we have seen (See note 47, chapter VII), however, the ink seems again to change (but only slightly); while the portion of the *notes* following the Declaration are of almost the same color (See note 35, *post*) as the portion preceding this word “to”. We are not prepared to say what this indicates. It may be simply that the *notes* were written at four (or perhaps three) sittings, *because of the length*, and that no great space of time intervened. On the other hand, in a letter of June 1, 1783, to Madison, enclosing the copy of the *notes* made for him, Jefferson, as we shall see (See p. 352), says: “as you were desirous of having a copy of the original of the declaration of Independance I have inserted it at full length distinguishing the alterations it underwent”, which might be understood to mean that the Declaration was “inserted” at that time. This, however, seems scarcely possible when we consider the continuity of the *notes* and the paging. Also, see notes 31, 32 and 33, *post*.

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¹⁶ This interlineation was made evidently at the time of writing. The copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783 reads as follows: “. . . preceding, and on Monday referred to a *commée* of the whole. the . . .”

¹⁷ The copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783 reads as follows: “. . . complaisance to S. Carolina . . .” The “^”, “with” and the line crossing out “with” and the line (in the original MS., two lines) crossing out “to” are in blacker ink (seemingly of the same color as that of “& South Carolina”, see note 5, *supra*) than that of the surrounding portion of the *notes*. Jefferson evidently changed his mind about the advisability of the correction after making it.

¹⁸ This erasure was made probably at the time of writing. The copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783 says: “. . . tender under . . .”

¹⁹ We think that here Jefferson intended to have a period, a colon, a semicolon or at least a comma.

Indeed, this portion of the *notes* in the copy sent to Madison in 1783 reads as follows: “the debates having taken up the greater parts of the 2^d 3^d & 4th days of July, were, in the evening of the last, closed; the declaration was reported by the *commée*, agreed to by the house, & signed by every member except *m^r* Dickinson. as the sentiments of men are known not only by what they receive, but what they reject also, I will state the form of the declaration as originally reported. the parts struck out by Congress shall be distinguished by a black line drawn under them; & those inserted by them shall be placed in the margin or in a concurrent column.”

This portion of Jefferson’s letter of 1787 to the editor of the *Journal of Paris* is given in note 20, *post*.

We have already seen (See p. 199) that there is a colon here in the *notes* as copied in the letter of 1819 to Wells.

²⁰ This is in slightly darker ink (but, we think, not quite so dark as that of “& South Carolina”, see note 5, *supra*) than that of the surrounding portion of the *notes*, the word itself is perceptibly larger and the pen used was evidently considerably sharper. It does not appear in the copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783 (See note 19, *supra*); and the letter written by Jefferson to the editor of the *Journal of Paris* in 1787 reads as follows: “[P] in the evening of the 4th they [the debates] were finally closed, and the instrument approved by an unanimous vote, and signed by every member, *except M^r. Dickenson*. look into the journals of Congress of that day, Sir, and you will see the instrument, and the names of the signers, and that *m^r* Dickinson’s name is not among them.” We believe that it was added by Jefferson in 1819, at the time when he first wrote to Wells; for this word is *interlined* in the *notes* as quoted (See p. 199) in that letter, and the pen and ink used in writing it (“present” in the *notes*) are, we think, the same as those used in writing that letter.

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²¹ This line, interlined as indicated, is, we think, in different ink than that of the surrounding portion of the *notes* — being lighter (brown) in color and seemingly of the same color as that of the copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783. See note 19, *supra*. The period after “reported” was doubtless added at the same time.

²² This word seems to be in the same ink as that to which note 21, *supra*, refers. See note 19, *supra*. Something was first erased — we think, its form.

²³ It is very difficult to make out the last of these three words; but we think it is “subjoined”. The entire erasure, like the corrections to which note 21, *supra*, refers, seems to have been made at the time of making the copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783. See note 19, *supra*.

²⁴ This correction is in the same ink as that of the surrounding portion of the *notes* and was made evidently at the time of writing that portion. See note 19, *supra*.

²⁵ This correction seems to be in the same ink as that to which note 21, *supra*, refers. See note 19, *supra*.

²⁶ The “&”, “by them shall be”, the “^”, the line (in the original MS., a scroll) through “are” and the “a” before “concurrent” seem to be in the same ink as that to which note 21, *supra*, refers. The “a” is written outside — before a line. The “s” in “columns” and the line (in the original MS., two lines) through it seem to be in the same ink as the word itself.

²⁷ This slip is in brown ink, but the pen used was evidently heavier than that used for any part of the *notes*. It is, of course, not found in the copy of the *notes* sent to Madison in 1783. See note 28, *post*.

²⁸ From the facts that this line is so closely written and that the ink is lighter (brown) in shade than that of the following lines, we infer that it was an afterthought; and it seems almost certain (indeed, the pen and ink are quite similar) that the main portion of the slip was penned at, or soon after, the time of writing the letter to Wells of which Jefferson speaks and that (the pen and ink are evidently the same) this line was added (after the slip had been pasted onto page 12 of the *notes*) at the time when Jefferson (following the receipt of a printed copy of the *secret domestic* Journal) added the postscript (See p. 203) to that letter, viz., August 6, 1822.

²⁹ See note 28, chapter IX.

³⁰ See p. 196.

³¹ Whether he means to page 7 (that is, *through* page 6) or *through* page 7 is not clear; but we believe that he means *through* page 7 — or, at least, *through* that portion of it which precedes (See note 32, *post*) the Declaration.

³² The erasure of the words “this and” does not *necessarily* indicate that the Declaration as found on pages 7 to 12 inclusive of the *notes* was not written at the time (or practically so) pages “1. to 7.” were written. The

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line (in the original MS., several lines) through "this and" appears to be in slightly darker (brown) ink than the body of the slip; the "and" seems to be and "from 1. to 7. of" evidently is in the same ink as the body of the slip. See notes 15 and 31, *supra*, and 35, *post*. This would indicate that "from 1. to 7. of" was inserted at the time of writing and that "this and" was erased subsequently. It is not at all unlikely, therefore, that Jefferson inserted "from 1. to 7. of" because (and when) he remembered that he was here speaking of the *notes* as taken "in my place" and afterwards written "out in form" and that the Declaration as here embodied was not a part of the *notes* as taken "in my place" and that he erased "this and" simply because it occurred to him that it would be improper to say "from 1. to 7. of *this and* the two preceding sheets", for the reason that pages "1. to 7." are not "of *this*." sheet at all but are wholly of "the two preceding sheets".

³² It seems to us evident that each of the sheets spoken of by Jefferson comprises (front and reverse) *four pages*. The *notes* are bound (See note 12, chapter IV) so tightly, however, that we cannot be certain.

³⁴ The *notes* end on the twentieth page—all following the Declaration seeming, from the ink, to have been written at one sitting.

³⁵ The ink from here on (See note 34, *supra*) is very *slightly* lighter (reddish-brown) in color than the body of the *notes* preceding the word "to" (See note 15, *supra*); and a sharper pen, it would seem, was used.

³⁶ Taken (except what is between brackets) from what is endorsed: "[N] Rough draft of a L^r respecting the Declaration of Independence. August 4th 1796.—"

‡

What is between brackets (except "taught me to think less unfavorably of skepticism than formerly") is taken from *Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, etc., republished by A. J. Dallas, vol. 1, wherein the extracts quoted in the letter to Messrs. Wm. M'Corkle & Son, *post*, are given, headed as follows: "On comparing the names above subscribed to the Declaration of Independence, with the names subscribed to the same instrument, as printed in the Journals of Congress (2d vol. page 241) the editor discovered a variance, which it was his duty to investigate, and ascertain the cause. Having, therefore, procured a certificate from the Secretary of State, that the name of *Thomas McKean*, the Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania, was affixed in his own hand-writing to the original Declaration of Independence, though it is omitted in the Journals of Congress, that gentleman was requested to furnish an explanation; and from his obliging answer the following extracts are taken:—"

³⁷ This is written over an *M*.

³⁸ He is mistaken: see note 18, chapter IX.

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³⁹ Taken from the *facsimile* in *The Book of the Signers*, etc., edited by William Brotherhead. J. M. C. Rodney of Wilmington, Del., writes us, under date of December 2, 1899, that the *original* is in his possession.

For the letter to which it is a reply, see note 7, chapter IX.

Both letters, it will be noted, are dated August 22d; but M:Kean says, it also will be noted: "Your favor of the 22^d last month . . . came safe to hand . . ." Of course, we do not know which of the two was in error in the date, though it seems to us probable that M:Kean was.

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A copy of this letter of August 22, 1813, was sent by Caesar Augustus Rodney to Jefferson, with a letter, dated Wilmington, March 16, 1823, in which Rodney says: "[S] When I had the pleasure of visiting you at Monticello, I mentioned a letter from the late Governor M Kean to me, relating to occurrences, on the day that Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence, which I had lent to M: Binns [See note 13, chapter XIII], who, unfortunately, mislaid it. the other day he was lucky enough to find it, & to deliver it to me; and I now enclose you, agreeably to my promise, a copy of the original, that you may compare it with your minutes to ascertain whether it be correct."

Jefferson replied, April 12th: "[P] what he [M:Kean] says of your respected uncle is all true and within my own recollection. his memory has failed him in some other particulars of no importance. he has confounded two distinct votes and blended together the transactions on them as if on one, to wit the vote on the Virgā proposū to declare independence and the ultimate declaration, but the error is quite unimportant."

⁴⁰ Taken from *The Freemans Journal and Columbian Chronicle* (C) of the 20th. The letter may be found also in *Niles' Weekly Register* (N) of June 28th.

⁴¹ No attempt has been made to indicate the size or character of the type or writing, except to indicate capitals.

The lining of the titles — and of those portions only — is indicated by a ¶.

⁴² See p. 208 and chapter XIII.

⁴³ See p. 170.

⁴⁴ Taken from the copy (See facing p. 170) wafered into the *rough Journal*. See (also) p. 170 and the notes thereto.

⁴⁵ See p. 344.

⁴⁶ See p. 347.

⁴⁷ See p. 348.

⁴⁸ See p. 348.

It follows from the facts there given that the changes from this draft in the handwriting of John Adams (representing practically, as there indicated,

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the "Rough draught" of Jefferson *as originally drawn*) found in the three drafts just above it (which represent the "Rough draught" of Jefferson as *corrected* before the Declaration was *submitted to Congress*: see note 48, chapter VI) were made after it was made. Where these changes were made *by any one other than Jefferson* (assuming, of course, that all changes in his handwriting were his, as they probably were, though, of course, we cannot know with certainty whether such changes suggested themselves to him or were suggested to him by others), we have indicated by notes. *These notes are appended to the draft here found next above the draft in the handwriting of Adams, that is, to draft f.* (These notes show also, in some instances, the *progress* of changes made *by Jefferson himself*.)

⁴⁰ This was first written "sacred & undeniable" in Jefferson's "Rough draught".

⁵⁰ Jefferson, in making his corrections, in his "Rough draught", wrote and then erased "equal [?] rights, some of which are".

⁵¹ This is "inalienable" in Jefferson's "Rough draught".

⁵² This is "&" in Jefferson's "Rough draught".

⁵³ Franklin substituted this word.

⁵⁴ This was first written "subject them to arbitrary" in Jefferson's "Rough draught".

⁵⁵ These changes were made by John Adams, and, as readily seen, *after* he made the copy (g) of Jefferson's "Rough draught", which *may* indicate (but which, we think, does not necessarily prove) that it was submitted more than once to Adams (or, at least, that he saw it more than once) before a "fair copy" was submitted to the committee—that is, if a "fair copy" (and not the "Rough draught" itself) was submitted to the committee and if no corrections were made in the committee, as Jefferson states.

⁵⁶ There is no "as" in Jefferson's "Rough draught".

⁵⁷ There is no "an" in Jefferson's "Rough draught".

⁵⁸ These last three words are found *interlined* in Jefferson's "Rough draught".

⁵⁹ In Jefferson's "Rough draught", this is written over something which cannot be deciphered.

⁶⁰ This sentence was written (by Jefferson) *upon a slip of paper* and *attached* to his "Rough draught" (See between pp. 144 and 145). Part of the slip has been torn away. It reads at present as follows: "he has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, unco===== | the depository of their public records for the sole purpose of fatigu===== | with his measures;".

⁶¹ This is evidently in Jefferson's handwriting. See note 80, *post*.

⁶² We are not sure that this conforms to the "Rough draught" as *originally drawn* by Jefferson (though it seems likely); for the slip (See note 60, *supra*) leaves visible only "ally for opposing" and "eople:".

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⁶³ Jefferson first wrote in his "Rough draught": "he has dissolved". He crossed it out and started anew with "he has refused . . ."

⁶⁴ These three words were added by John Adams, and, of course, as readily seen, before he made the copy (draft *g*) of Jefferson's "Rough draught". The word "time" as first written appears to have been erased (as well as "space of") in that draft by accident; and Jefferson accordingly rewrote it before "after".

⁶⁵ These words were added by Franklin.

⁶⁶ For the progress of the addition of these words, see between pp. 144 and 145.

⁶⁷ This sentence is very closely written, at the bottom of a page, in Jefferson's "Rough draught". He himself, it would seem, *first* wrote "colonies", as Congress amended it.

⁶⁸ These words were added by Franklin. He first wrote "important" for "valuable".

⁶⁹ The rest of the third page (that below the first fold) is missing — the sheet having been torn at this fold.

⁷⁰ Here in Jefferson's "Rough draught" now appear a "Λ" and, above the line, the words "Scotch and other", seemingly in the same ink as the amendments by Congress which Jefferson indicated thereon, evidently on July 2d, 3d and 4th during the debates. We do not know what this indicates, unless it be some amendment proposed or intended to be proposed but either not proposed or not adopted. In this connection, see note 87, *post*.

⁷¹ The portions between the vertical lines actually occur nearer the beginning, viz., at the "*". They are placed here, in order that the amendments by Congress, other than the change of order, may be more readily noted.

⁷² This sentence is interlined in Jefferson's "Rough draught". For the progress of its addition, see between pp. 144 and 145.

⁷³ In Jefferson's "Rough draught", this is written over something which cannot be deciphered.

⁷⁴ This is "allurements" in Jefferson's "Rough draught".

⁷⁵ This is "rights" in Jefferson's "Rough draught".

⁷⁶ This clause occurs here in Jefferson's "Rough draught" also; but, afterward, he placed brackets around it and interlined it — changing "determined" to "determining" — where Adams gives it (and that is evidently why Adams did not copy it, but, after starting, erased "determined to"). The brackets, evidently after the Adams copy was made, were erased and the clause was erased where interlined.

⁷⁷ See note 76, *supra*.

⁷⁸ The "an" is "this" in Jefferson's "Rough draught".

⁷⁹ See note 76, *supra*.

⁸⁰ This would seem to be the only word in the Declaration on parchment in

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the handwriting of Jefferson, and must have occurred to him as necessary after the engrossing. The syllable "en" and the "∧" (See note 61, *supra*), however, also seem to be in his handwriting.

We do not know in whose handwriting is the rest of the Declaration on parchment.

⁸¹ This was added by Franklin.

⁸² This was first so written in Jefferson's "Rough draught"; but, afterward, he erased the "y" and made it "injuries". He does not, however, seem to have followed his own correction.

⁸³ In making his corrections, in his "Rough draught", Jefferson first wrote "lay".

⁸⁴ There is no "the" in Jefferson's "Rough draught".

⁸⁵ The rest, of course, of this page is missing: see note 69, *supra*.

⁸⁶ Of course, the "t" is in Jefferson's "Rough draught".

⁸⁷ We cannot understand why these brackets were placed here unless to indicate that the words enclosed were stricken out by Congress; but why even then, when the whole sentence was stricken out? Can it be that these words were stricken out *first* and that the remainder of the sentence was stricken out later? (There are no brackets in Jefferson's "Rough Draught".) See note 70, *supra*.

⁸⁸ These words were substituted by Franklin.

⁸⁹ This was first written "glory & happinefs" in Jefferson's "Rough draught".

⁹⁰ In Jefferson's "Rough draught", "climb" is erased and "must tread" interlined and "must" also erased. It *seems* as if, after making a correction, Jefferson failed to follow it.

⁹¹ This was first written "in a separate====" in Jefferson's "Rough draught".

⁹² This was first written "pro" in Jefferson's "Rough draught".

⁹³ This was first written "everlasting Adieus" in Jefferson's "Rough draught".

⁹⁴ There is no "the" in Jefferson's "Rough draught".

⁹⁵ This is written over things.

⁹⁶ This is written over something which cannot be deciphered.

⁹⁷ Lee wrote to Landon Carter at "[N] Sabine Hall in Richmond" *on the very day he answered Jefferson's letter*: "I congratulate my Friend on the Declaration he will find in this paper now sent[.]"

#

No copy of the Declaration other than the one above referred to in Jefferson's handwriting has been found in The American Philosophical Society; and F. W. Page, Librarian of the University of Virginia, writes us, under

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date of December 9, 1899: "Upon examination of the Lee Papers in this Library, I do not find any draft of the Declaration of Independence, nor any letter in reference thereto. Shortly before our great fire of Oct. 1895, one of our students made a Calendar of these Papers, by direction of our Professor of English Literature, with a view to having it printed. But the fire scattered the papers & perhaps destroyed some, and part of the Calendar was destroyed. This student is now in Japan, a Missionary. I think if there had been a draft of the D. of I. amongst the papers I would have heard of it. There is certainly none now, nor are any facts in regard to it disclosed in the papers."

(Pickering — See note 50, chapter IV — evidently did not mean that the *printed* Declaration was with the original letter of Lee and the draft "as originally framed" *when copied*.)

⁹⁸ See, however, p. 144.

⁹⁹ A *facsimile* may be found in *Proceedings of The American Philosophical Society*, vol. 37. It is accompanied by an article by Dr. I. Minis Hays.

¹⁰⁰ He died in 1794.

¹⁰¹ See, however, note 50, chapter VII, and p. 351.

¹⁰² No attention, of course, has been paid to these in the draft as found in the preceding pages; and even the few lines (underscoring words) which we think are Jefferson's (See note 103, *post*) have been omitted.

¹⁰³ This word would naturally perhaps include the lines underscoring the words; and John Vaughan, Librarian of the Society, evidently so understood it, for, in 1841 (at the age of 85), he writes (as shown by a copy preserved in the Society) to the Prince de Joinville: "on the suggestion of M^r Jefferson, the Comparison was made by Richard Henry Lee & his Brother Arthur Lee, who drew a black line, upon the *original* draught proposed by the Committtee, under every part rejected by Congress; & in the margin opposite, placed the Word *Out*."

We, however, believe that the line under "Christian", the line under "he" in "which he has deprived", the line under "he" in "whom he also obtruded", the line under "liberties" in "the liberties of one people" and the line under "lives" in "against the lives of" are Jefferson's; for they not only look like his lines but these words (and these only) are underscored in the Pickering copy (See note 50, chapter VII) of this draft made (originally) in 1805.

¹⁰⁴ It is not quite clear from this language whether he means that fair copies were made repeatedly during the composition of the instrument itself (that is, previous to its submission to Franklin and Adams) or during the amendments by Congress. The latter, however, seems improbable (and, in fact, see note 124, *post*); and, indeed, the former would seem to be his mean-

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ing. If so and the statement is true, other drafts preceded what is now known (See between pp. 144 and 145) as Jefferson's rough draft; but we know that no fair copy was made between the time when John Adams made his copy (See note 48, *supra*) and when the copy was made which was submitted to Congress. No such drafts have been preserved, however, nor is there any other mention of them; and it will be remembered that Jefferson himself endorsed what is now known as the rough draft as follows: "Independence Declaration of [original Rough draught". Indeed, the fact shown in note 60, *supra*, would seem to *prove* that he did not *always* make a "fair copy" "whenever . . . a copy became overcharged"; and we know that, in 1776, paper was quite expensive.

¹⁰⁵ See note 104, *supra*.

See note 24, chapter VI.

See pp. 347, 348, 349, 350 and 351.

¹⁰⁶ This letter was evidently the result of a letter from Wallace, to Mrs. Randolph, dated Fauquier, Va., October 14th, which says: "[S] . . . it would appear that the patriotism of Richard Henry Lee was spurious, involuntary and freckled, being the fruit of sour disappointments from unsuccessful attempts to procure offices under the Crown, hence his sudden change from the King to the people, however popular, was nevertheless from want of political principle and not from pure countries good and love of political principle and Liberty . . . Being at the Lafayette dinner at Leesburg a toast was given which introduced a conversation anticipating the Biography of Richard Henry Lee, by his grandson: tis expected that nothing will be regarded if the fame of Lee can be raised: the old tale of his writing the declaration of Independence will be renewed . . . I beg, if consistent, after the view I have taken, that a full and general statement may reach me in your fathers hand writing, that I may Keep it in readiness to defeat the expected denunciations and perversions of truth . . ."

¹⁰⁷ On the contrary, they are to be found in the *Appendix* to the first volume.

¹⁰⁸ These corrections were made very likely after a fair copy to send was made.

¹⁰⁹ See Jefferson's letter to *John Adams*, note 4, chapter IV.

¹¹⁰ Another portion of this letter may be found in note 50, chapter VII.

¹¹¹ Jefferson says (See pp. 144 and 345) that no change was made in committee, but that a fair copy was reported to them and (unchanged) by them to Congress. See also pp. 141 and 143. Of course, however, as we have seen, slight amendments were suggested by John Adams and Franklin; and, indeed, see note 55, *supra*.

¹¹² It will be noted that this language is not the same as that found in his letter of February 25, 1840. Indeed, he makes still different statements

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in *Memoir*, etc. Therein, he says (in the text): “. . . enclosing the original draught, which he had drawn in the committe[e], and also a copy of the declaration as adopted by Congress”; and (in the *Appendix*, as a heading for a copy there given of the draft in The American Philosophical Society): “Copy of the letter written by Thomas Jefferson to Richard Henry Lee, Esq. enclosing the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, as first reported.”

¹¹³ See p. 349.

¹¹⁴ See p. 350.

¹¹⁵ See p. 351.

¹¹⁶ See p. 349.

¹¹⁷ See p. 350.

¹¹⁸ See p. 351.

¹¹⁹ Pendleton's letter to Jefferson last before the 10th (so far as his letters — formerly in the Department of State — now in the Library of Congress show) was dated August 3d, which would seem to prove at least that Pendleton received the copy of the Declaration *after the 3d*. It was received evidently in Jefferson's letter of July 29th of which Pendleton speaks; and it was *elicited*, we think, by Pendleton's next previous letter, one of July 22d (See p. 148).

¹²⁰ Wythe does not mention any such draft, however, in his letter of July 27, 1776, to Jefferson, the only one (so far as his letters — formerly in the Department of State — now in the Library of Congress show) which Wythe wrote to Jefferson previous to Wythe's return (See p. 215) to Philadelphia, nor in his letter to Jefferson of November 11, 1776, from Philadelphia, the first after Wythe's return (as similarly shown).

¹²¹ See note 7, chapter IV.

¹²² We have been unable to locate this.

¹²³ This (See p. 351) was not what is commonly so called.

Indeed, it is quite evident that the *Richmond Enquirer* is speaking of one draft; the *Philadelphia Union* of another; and the *Federal Republican* of a third.

¹²⁴ This refers evidently to what is commonly so called; and the editor of the *Philadelphia Union* doubtless saw it at Jefferson's home, for Delaplaine, as we have seen, was shown it there in 1816 and Jefferson, as late as 1825, as also we have seen, speaks of it as being “now in my hands”.

In considering this criticism, it should be borne in mind that Jefferson indicated (See between pp. 144 and 145) on this “Rough draught” the amendments by Congress.

¹²⁵ If this is an accurate statement, we do not know how or when it came into the hands of the editor (See, however, note 50, chapter VII) or how or when it was returned to the Lees. It will be remembered that R. H. Lee, in *Memoir*, etc., (1825) writes that it “has been . . . carefully preserved

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by his family" and that, on August 9th of the same year, it was deposited in The American Philosophical Society.

¹²⁶ Perhaps this will account for the fact that the original letter (See note 50, chapter VII) can no longer be found.

¹²⁷ This, of course, was not what is usually so termed.

¹²⁸ We have compared accurate copies of the drafts respectively in The American Philosophical Society, the New York Public Library (Lenox) and the Massachusetts Historical Society with this copy, in the hope of locating the draft "found among the literary reliques of the late venerable George Wythe"; but this was without avail, because of the failure of *The Weekly Register* to conform at all to Jefferson's peculiar spelling, capitalization, etc.

¹²⁹ See note 8, chapter X.

¹³⁰ See p. 345.

¹³¹ See p. 172.

¹³² The Madison papers were purchased of Dorothy (Dolly) P. Madison, the widow of the President, for \$25,000: see Act of Congress of May 31, 1848.

¹³³ See, however, various notes to the *notes*, p. 295.

¹³⁴ Taken from *The Freeman's Journal: or, the North-American Intelligencer* (N) of January 1, 1783.

It is published as a letter from John Dickinson and headed: "To my Opponents in the late Elections of Councillor for the County of Philadelphia, and of President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania."

See notes 5 and 6, chapter VII.

The speech of Dickinson (See p. 159), as given by Bancroft, consists of parts of this "Vindication" changed into the present tense and linked together as he saw fit.

¹³⁵ See note 7, chapter V; note 20 and Schuyler and Lewis Morris, note 39, chapter IX; and pp. 212 and 270.

Key

Key

- A** = Taken from the original manuscript in The American Philosophical Society, in Philadelphia
[or, when referring to a newspaper]
a copy of which may be found in The American Philosophical Society, in Philadelphia
- Ad** = “ “ *Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife Abigail Adams, during the Revolution* by Charles Francis Adams
- Al** = “ “ the original manuscript in the New York State Library, in Albany
- Ann** = a copy of which may be found in the State Library in Annapolis
- B** = “ “ *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence*
- Ba** = a copy of which may be found in the Maryland Historical Society, in Baltimore
- Bos** = a copy of which may be found in the Boston Public Library
- BT** = “ “ the transcript in the Bancroft papers in the New York Public Library (Lenox)
- C** = a copy of which may be found in the Library of Congress
- Ch** = a copy of which may be found in the Charlestown Library Society, in Charleston
(The extracts given were copied by Nela M. Davis)

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- Con = a copy of which may be found in the New Hampshire Historical Society, in Concord
- Cs = Taken from the original manuscript in the possession of John D. Crimmins of New York City
- D = “ “ *Annals of the Congress of the United States*
- D¹ = “ “ *Statutes at Large*
- E = “ “ *The Life and Times of John Dickinson* by Charles J. Stille
[See the *Preface* thereof]
- Ex = “ “ the original in The Essex Institute, in Salem
[or, when referring to a newspaper]
a copy of which may be found in The Essex Institute, in Salem
- G = “ “ *Rhode Island in the Continental Congress*, etc., by William R. Staples
- GR = “ “ *Life and Character of George Read*, etc., by William Thompson Read
- Gz = “ “ the original manuscript in the possession of Simon Gratz of Philadelphia
- H = “ “ *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, etc.
- Ha = a copy of which may be found in the Connecticut Historical Society, in Hartford
- Hs = “ “ Catalogue No. 738 (1895), compiled by Stan. V. Henkels
- I = “ “ *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell* by Griffith I. Mc Ree
- J = “ “ *The Life and Works of John Adams* by Charles Francis Adams
(Also, all quotations preceding p. 7 *not marked* are from this)
- K = “ “ *The Life of Thomas Jefferson* by Henry S. Randall
- M = “ “ the *Southern Literary Messenger* (C) for May, 1837
[It appears from this that the original manuscript was then in their possession]

KEY

- M¹** = Taken from the *Southern Literary Messenger* (C) for July, 1858
 [This says: “. . . the copies having been faithfully compared with the originals in my possession. C.”]
- M²** = “ “ the *Southern Literary Messenger* (C) for October, 1858
- M³** = “ “ the *Southern Literary Messenger* (C) for November, 1858
- M⁴** = “ “ the *Southern Literary Messenger* (C) for December, 1858
- Md** = “ “ *Archives of Maryland*, edited by William Hand Browne
- Mn** = “ “ the original manuscript in the possession of J. Pierpont Morgan of New York City
- Ms** = “ “ the original manuscript in the Massachusetts Historical Society, in Boston
 [or, when referring to a newspaper]
 a copy of which may be found in the Massachusetts Historical Society, in Boston
- MsC** = “ “ the copy, in the handwriting of Pickering, in the Pickering papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society, in Boston
 [These copies preserved by Pickering, in many instances, are original drafts]
- MsJ** = “ “ Jefferson's “Account Book” in the Massachusetts Historical Society, in Boston
 [See note 24, chapter VI]
- MsS** = “ “ *Memorial of Henry Wolcott*, etc., by Samuel Wolcott (1881), a copy of which may be found in the State Library in Boston
 [or, when referring to a newspaper]
 a copy of which may be found in the State Library in Boston

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- N = Taken from the original manuscript in the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet* of New York City now in the New York Public Library (Lenox)
[or, when referring to a newspaper, etc.]
a copy of which may be found in the New York Public Library (Lenox)
- NE = “ “ *The New-England Historical and Genealogical Register* (N), XXX, 309
[It is given as a communication from Dr. John S. H. Fogg of South Boston]
(The Fogg collection is now in the Maine Historical Society, in Portland.)
- NE¹ = “ “ *The New-England Historical and Genealogical Register* (N), XXX, 326
[It is given as a communication from Jeremiah Colburn of Boston and is stated — with other letters — to be “copied from the originals in my possession.”]
- NM = “ “ the original manuscript in the collection of Theodore Bailey Myers of New York City now in the New York Public Library (Lenox)
- NC = “ “ *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, etc., edited by William A. Saunders
- NH = “ “ *Documents and Records relating to the State of New-Hampshire*, etc., edited by Nathaniel Bouton
- NY = “ “ the original manuscript in the New York Historical Society, in New York City
- O = “ “ *The Life of Elbridge Gerry* by James T. Austin
- P = “ “ the copy preserved by Jefferson, (formerly in the Department of State) now in the Library of Congress
[These copies preserved by Jefferson here quoted are usually, and, except in one instance, perhaps

* For a description of the “Emmet Collection” (as well as much other useful information in regard to the Declaration of Independence), see *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, vol. 1, p. 351.

KEY

always, mechanical duplicate-originals. The one instance is evidently a rough draft]

- Pa = Taken from *Minutes of the Committee of Safety of the Province of Pennsylvania*
- PD = " " the original manuscript in the collection of Ferdinand J. Dreer now in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia
- PE = " " the original manuscript in the collection of Frank M. Etting now in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia
- PH = " " the original manuscript in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia
[or, when referring to a newspaper, etc.]
a copy of which may be found in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia
- PHM = " " the *Diary* of Christopher Marshall (original MS.) and furnished to the author by John W. Jordan, Librarian of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia
- PM = " " the original manuscript in the M:Kean papers in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia
- PS = " " the original manuscript in the collection of Rev. William B. Sprague now in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia
- Q = " " *Patrick Henry Life, Correspondence and Speeches* by William Wirt Henry
- Qy = " " the original manuscript (formerly at Quincy) now at the Massachusetts Historical Society, in Boston
- QyC = " " the copy preserved by John Adams, (formerly at Quincy) now at the Massachusetts Historical Society, in Boston
- R = " " *Memoir of the Life of Richard Henry Lee, etc.*, by Richard Henry Lee, his grandson

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- Rid = Taken from the original manuscript in The Library Company of Philadelphia (Ridgeway Branch)
[or, when referring to a newspaper]
a copy of which may be found in The Library Company of Philadelphia (Ridgeway Branch)
- S = " " the original manuscript (formerly in the Department of State) now in the Library of Congress
- SA = [If a letter to Samuel Adams,]
" " the original manuscript in the Samuel Adams papers in the New York Public Library (Lenox)
[If a letter from Samuel Adams,]
" " the copy, in the handwriting of Samuel Adams, in the Samuel Adams papers in the New York Public Library (Lenox)
[These copies preserved by Samuel Adams are usually, and perhaps always, original drafts]
- Sh = " " *History of Philadelphia* by J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott
- T = " " the original manuscript in the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester
[or, when referring to a newspaper]
a copy of which may be found in the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester
- Tr = " " the original manuscript in the possession of John Boyd Thacher of Albany
- Ts = " " the original manuscript in the possession of George C. Thomas of Philadelphia
- U = " " *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed, etc.*, by William B. Reed, his grandson
- V = " " *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the Olden Time*
- W = " " *The Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams* by William V. Wells
- X = " " *The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin* by John Bigelow

KEY

- Y = Taken from *The Writings of George Washington* by Worthington Chauncey Ford
- Z = " " *The Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay*,
edited by Henry P. Johnston
- = Words in italics are interlined in the original
- == = What occupies this space cannot be deciphered
- === = The manuscript here is torn, worn, missing or repaired

All quotations *not* marked (except: see "J", *supra*) are taken from *American Archives* by Peter Force.

Paragraphs in the original have (almost) always been omitted, except where the extract is given in different type.

The *f* in the original has usually been replaced by *s*.

No attempt has been made, in giving headings and imprints, to follow the character of type found in the various broadsides. The design has been merely to give the relative size of letters in the individual words, bearing in mind, however, in general, the relative size of the individual words but limited always by the character of type used in the present volume.

Most of the letters of John Adams of later years are not in his handwriting.



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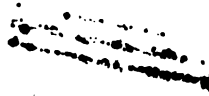
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